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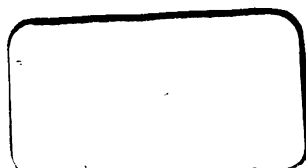
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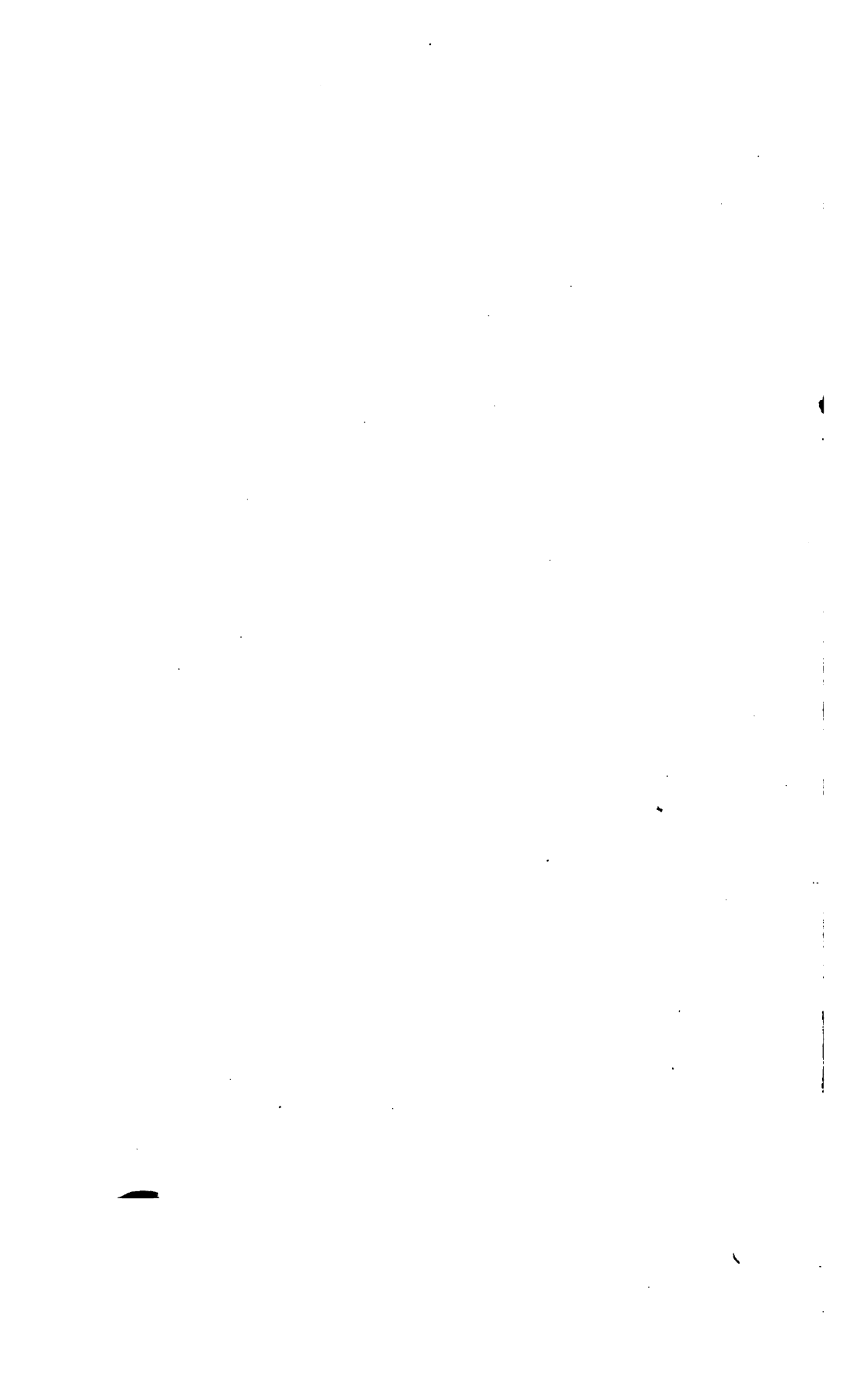
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127 Aug 1878.

Abuses of Justice,

ILLUSTRATED BY

MY OWN CASE;

DISCLOSING

VARIOUS PRACTICES

OF THE

OFFICERS OF CRIMINAL LAW;

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL

INTERESTING TRIALS,

ANECDOTES OF CERTAIN BANKERS,

AND

HAIRBREADTH ESCAPES

OF THE

INNOCENT AND THE GUILTY:

BEING A

VINDICATION

OF

THE AUTHOR

FROM

SEVERAL CHARGES OF FORGERY.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED AND ENLARGED,

By JOHN MACKCOULL

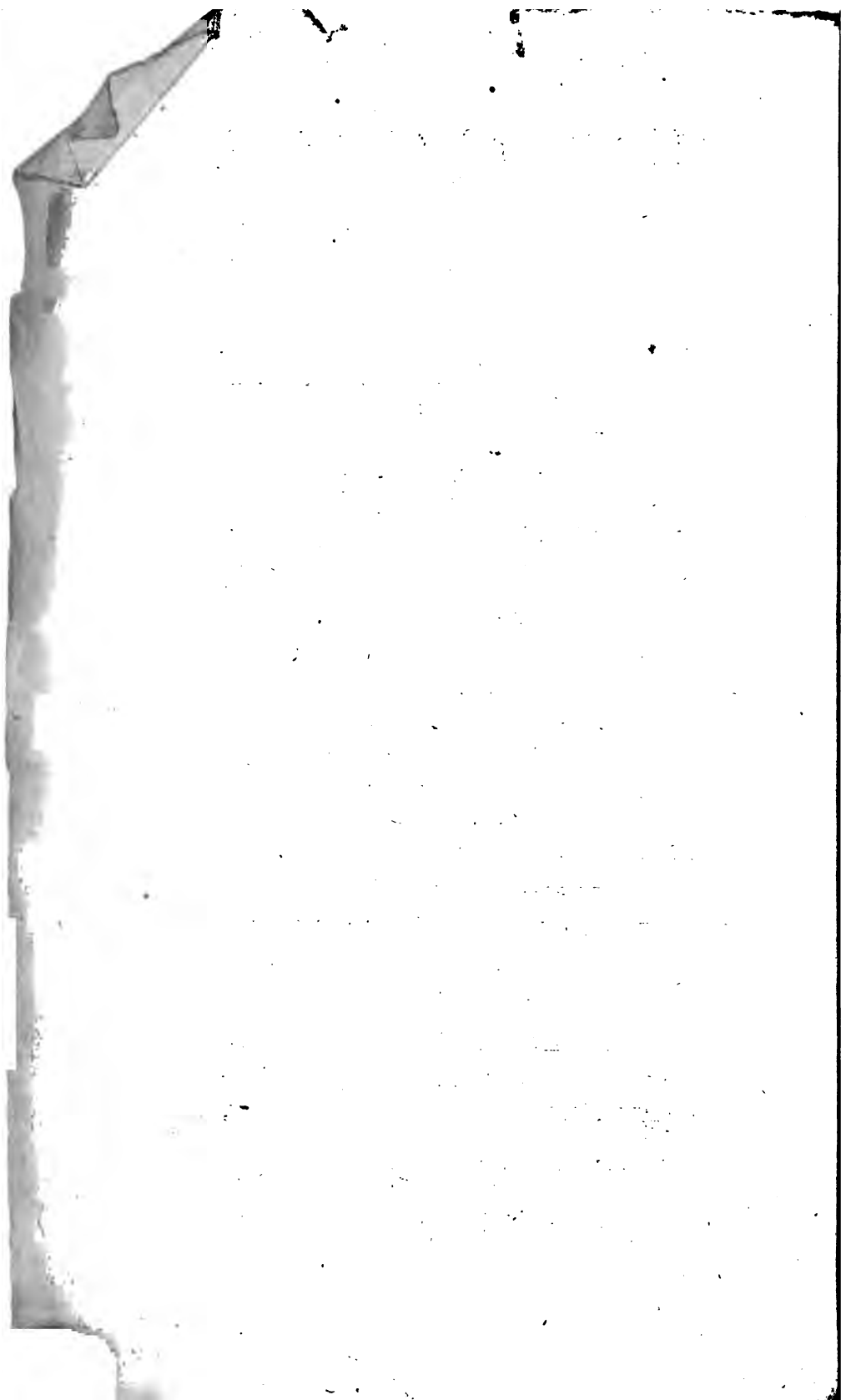
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SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1812.



PREFACE.

THE publication of the first edition being delayed to a later period than was expected, my opponents ridiculed the report that any thing of the kind was intended, and my friends were tauntingly asked "When would Mackcoull expose himself? When did he intend to honor the world with his history, and let the public into the secret of the forgeries and the means by which he escaped?" No sooner, however, did the pamphlet make its appearance, than those tantalizers most zealously employed themselves in endeavouring to suppress it. The Publisher was threatened with actions and prosecutions, which at last so intimidated him, that he declined the sale, and I was under the necessity of seeking another. Various opinions, I was told, were taken as to the propriety of prosecuting me for libels, and vengeance was threatened from every quarter, even from the banker in Lombard-street, to the contemptible wretch, M^r Clatchie, employed by Dudfield in his nefarious

law concerns. The truth however of my narrative, shielded me from *open attack*. My opponents could not proceed at law without exposing their conduct to public investigation, which would not answer their purpose, because the result would inevitably tend to my justification and bring shame and discredit on themselves. No legal proceedings were therefore taken, but my enemies resorted to *underhand* and cowardly means to harass, and if possible, crush me.

Acting under the advice of my friends I quitted London, and commenced business as a Stationer, Librarian, and Music-Seller, at Worthing, where I soon gained the good-will and attention of my neighbours. After some time, however, I experienced an unaccountable reserve and coldness in their behaviour, and many withdrew from their former habits of intercourse and sociability, without any apparent reason. At last one more ingenuous than the rest explained the cause, and I discovered that the slights I daily experienced were attributable to the old expedients of my enemies. Anonymous letters, many of which containing the most abominable falsehoods, to stigmatize and lessen me in the estimation of my neighbours, had been industriously dispersed through Worthing and its vicinity.

The painfulness of my situation may be more

easily conceived than described. Wherever I went, persecution pursued me, and I continually found myself the butt at which its malevolent shafts were levelled.

Fearing that my prospects of repose were frustrated by these anonymous letters, and that I should not have sufficient resolution to endure the severe mortifications they were likely to occasion me, I consulted my friends on the propriety of disposing of my little stock and effects, and removing. I was however dissuaded from this, and advised to bear up against every attempt to depress me: "Distribute your pamphlet," said a friend, "to every one who has received or seen these letters. Continue your honest and praise-worthy pursuits. Conduct yourself with propriety, and rest assured, these anonymous calumniators will be soon disregarded, or their rancour only remembered to be despised. The injuries" added he, "which you have experienced and detailed, might admit of doubt, but your neighbours must now be convinced that the means used to drive you from procuring your livelihood by honest exertions, is not fabricated or ideal; they will therefore commiserate your situation, and humanely and liberally join to protect you. Thus the proceeding intended to distress and ruin you will doubtless be the most beneficial and fortunate that could happen, for instead of raising enemies, it will gain you a host of protectors."

I implicitly followed this advice, and the result was as my friend predicted. My neighbours perceiving my conduct strictly correct, and the reverse of that attributed to me by the anonymous slanderers, gave me their countenance and assistance. Several noblemen have also condescended to wait on me, applaud my exertions, and, by their kind assurances of protection, I am stimulated to continue my business at Worthing, and trust I shall always merit their approbation and support.

These paltry measures being unsuccessful means more open and daring were adopted. Several of the Dudfield gang visited Worthing, and endeavoured by dint of unfounded assertion to traduce and injure me ; but their vicious conversation and base habits could not be long concealed ; and these were no sooner discovered, than they and their allegations were treated with merited contempt.

But the reader's astonishment will perhaps be excited when informed, that Mr. Henry Kensington was then also at Worthing, and endeavoured to second these efforts by stating that my vindication was a tissue of falsehoods, that his brother was satisfied of my guilt, and that to the ingenuity of my attorney, and the perjury of my witnesses, I was alone indebted for my acquittal : by these and similar observations, he endeavoured to exonerate his brother from the part he took in the Stafford prosecutions, and bring

me into disgrace. If my statement is incorrect, why has it not been refuted? More than four years have elapsed since its publication, and no one has attempted to answer it! If I have misrepresented the conduct of my opponents, surely they have been afforded sufficient time and opportunity to justify themselves. For Mr. E. Kensington no excuse can be offered, as I wrote to apprise him that this edition was revising, and offered to introduce any explanation, or insert any observation he might furnish; but no answer has been returned,—his silence I therefore conceive, tacitly admits, that my account is correct and incontrovertible.

It was next hoped that by passing stolen bills with forged directions in my neighbourhood, I might possibly be involved. Treble, however, who was employed on this diabolical errand, justly forfeited life for his temerity.

Hitherto I have stood firm against all the various artifices and attacks of my enemies. Some who have treated me with injustice have already experienced severe retribution. Humphreys, who abandoned me for a more powerful and rich client, and prosecuted, although he knew, and could have proved my innocence, is now shunned and despised by all mankind. The unfeeling Anthony is no more; but disdaining to carry resentment beyond the grave, I abstain from mentioning many circumstances respecting him that have come to my knowledge.

For the favorable reception given to the first edition of my *Vindication*, and the sympathising patronage and support since afforded me, I feel truly grateful; and confidently trust, that no act of my life shall lessen me in the opinion of a liberal minded public, nor the numerous friends who honor me with their esteem and protection.

JOHN MACKCOULL.

Apollo Library, Worthing,

July, 1810

VINDICATION,

&c.

IN the year 1800, prosecutions were instituted against some of the city constables, for a dereliction of their duty, in receiving sums of money to favour several well known delinquents, assist them to elude justice, and permit them to pursue their depredations unmolested.

During the time these prosecutions were pending, an officer of Bow Street, who stands high in the public estimation, called at my house, and invited me to take a glass of wine with him, saying, he had something of material consequence to communicate. I accepted his invitation, when, after much circuitous conversation, and the discussion of various incidental topics, in a manner peculiar to himself, he introduced the subject of the city officers, expatiated upon the enormity of the offence charged upon them, and remarked how necessary it was that such a practice should be stopped, and the offenders punished. I perfectly agreed with him in all his observations; but as the subject

did not appear important to either of us, and concluding it was upon some other business he wished to speak to me, I begged to know what it was: he answered that it was concerning the prosecution of those officers; and if I could give any useful information, that I should not only oblige him, but might thereby materially benefit myself, as the Corporation of London felt much interest in the success of the prosecution. He then described the nature of the evidence he had obtained, and the persons by whom it was to be given. I told him the nefarious transactions to which he alluded were no secret, but that the witnesses he named were too infamous to obtain credit in a court of law; and that, if the prosecution rested upon their testimony, I was convinced it must fall to the ground.*

He then said, that as I acknowledged the misconduct of the city officers to be well known, and that they merited punishment, I could not object to stating to him any facts that had come to my knowledge, and to assisting in the prosecution by afterwards giving evidence. I answered, that, however I might censure the conduct of the officers, I could not think of becoming a witness; that he well knew the un-

* The result fully confirmed my opinion; for when the evidence was gone through, on the part of the prosecution, the late Sir John William Rose, who presided at the trial, directed an acquittal; observing that, as the case depended entirely on the evidence of persons who appeared, by their own account, to be of the most infamous description, it would, in his opinion, be going much too far to convict any one upon their testimony only.

pleasant situation in which I should be placed, by being subjected to the cross-examination of the defendant's counsel; that having, for some time, conducted myself in a manner which I hoped would cause the world to forget my former irregularities, it would be extremely distressing to me and my friends to have those circumstances all harrowed up in a public court, and to be made the promulgator of my own shame. These observations did not appear to have the desired effect upon the person to whom they were addressed; for, after I had finished, he asked, in a tone of surprise and vexation, "What! you won't give evidence?" I answered determinately, "No, I will not;" and we shortly afterwards separated, without my having the slightest idea, that the line of conduct I had adopted on this occasion could have given umbrage to any one, much less that it could, without any other cause, have raised up a host of the most bitter enemies against me, or have induced them to overwhelm me with a succession of persecutions. But as I am wholly ignorant of any other cause in which they could originate, it must be left to the reader to determine whether I judge too harshly, if he will condescend to accompany me through the following narrative.

One evening, when confined to my house by a violent asthmatic complaint, to which I have some years been subject, I was alarmed by the unexpected intrusion of several persons into my apartment. Their entrance being sudden, and, as I conceived, somewhat rude, I remonstrated, and was informed that my visitors were Messrs.

Holdsworth and Canner, the then City Marshals, with their assistants; they did not enter into any explanation, but departed, saying, "All we wanted was to know you personally." Having in vain endeavoured to divine the motive of this visit, and knowing that no just cause of complaint could be alleged against me, I determined to inquire who, and what sort of men the marshals were, that I might judge whether they had any particular object, or whether their visit might be attributed to their general demeanor.

In the course of my inquiries, I met with a gentleman, who knew Mr. Holdsworth extremely well. He informed me that the marshal was educated at the same school with himself, and upon my relating to him the manner in which I had been treated, told me he was certain that some persons had been saying something to my disadvantage; for the marshal had too much the manners of a gentleman to treat any one rudely.

A few days after, while I was conversing with this gentleman in the street, Mr. Holdsworth came by, and as they recognized each other, I stepped aside to give them an opportunity of conversing; after some little time Mr. Holdsworth turned to me, and very politely asking how I did, expressed his regret at having treated me so harshly, and told me that upon a subsequent inquiry, he was satisfied some matters had been misrepresented to him, and he was glad the opportunity was afforded him of apologizing.

Some time after he called on me, and mentioned a discovery he had recently made through

the medium of the Bow Street officers, of a combination between a number of well known characters and his men, which he was told had existed many years, and which was highly detrimental to the safety and property of the citizens of London, and of the public at large.

Mr. Holdsworth lamented that the police of the city should be so degenerate; and expressed his determination to amend it, by adopting such regulations as were calculated to protect the persons and property of its inhabitants. He said, that, in order to effect this, it was necessary he should have the assistance of some one who possessed a knowledge of the various characters on the town, and whose mind was capable of furnishing him with general information; for, as his habits of life had never led him either to become acquainted with depredators of any sort, or the means by which they effected their purposes, he felt himself at a loss as to the measures he should pursue, to scour them from the city, and the precautions he ought to take to prevent such offences in future. That a prosecution was commenced against the city constables, to which the officers of Bow Street paid great attention; and that it had been intimated to him, that I could give some useful and important information; adding that he was not very sanguine as to the success of the prosecution unless facts could be established more conclusive than what had hitherto transpired, as the witnesses were such, that he feared the ends of justice would be defeated, and that the only

result would be to throw an odium to those who superintended the city police.

After having thus made me acquainted with his intentions, Mr. Holdsworth said he conceived I could give him the assistance he wished; and, desiring me to turn the subject over in my mind, he left me, at the same time making an appointment to meet again upon the business.

Upon our next interview the conversation was renewed, and, as nearly as my memory serves, I addressed him as follows, "Whoever has informed you that I possess abilities sufficient to give you the assistance and information you so much desire, certainly over-rated my talents; the subject of police has been very ably treated by many ingenious gentlemen, and particularly by Mr. Colquhoun the magistrate; and if you refer to their writings, you will obtain far more extensive knowledge than you can possibly acquire from me; besides, you are acquainted with several of the most active officers belonging to Bow Street, who have the means of affording you considerable aid; and as I am informed they have undertaken to give you such assistance, it might appear officious in me to say any thing upon the subject; therefore being now, thank God, somewhat settled, and perfectly satisfied with my present resources, and anxious not to make enemies, I must beg leave to decline interfering where they are concerned." The marshal commended my diffidence and care to avoid giving offence, declared he was perfectly pleased and satisfied with my apology, and added, I might

rest assured, he would never urge any thing that would hurt my feelings, or be detrimental to my future security; but he could not help observing, that the men I was so tenacious of offending, were the very persons whose representations had induced him to come to my house in the manner he had; that he was well persuaded they had no good intentions toward me, and recommended me to be circumspect in my conduct. I told him, which was the truth, that I had nothing to do with any criminal pursuits, and therefore could not conceive what I had to apprehend; that, as I had not knowingly offended any one, I was at a loss to account for their conduct toward me. But the marshal's hints were soon explained, and the whole mystery developed.

A short time afterwards, meeting two of the superior Bow Street officers, a long conversation arose as to the result of the prosecution against the city constables, which ended on their part with declaring, I had not only withheld the assistance I might have afforded them, but had caused a breach between them and the city marshal by my interference and advice, had informed him of a vast number of things inimical to their interest, and that I might rest assured the officers would remember me for it. I endeavoured to explain my conduct, but in vain, for they had made up their minds, (as they termed it,) and should act accordingly.

Thus, notwithstanding I had taken, as I thought, every possible precaution to avoid giving offence, I found myself in the very dilemma I had been so anxious to shun; and as I well knew the cha-

acters of the men whose resentment I had thus unconsciously incurred, I felt considerably alarmed at their threats. In the course of my experience, I had frequently had opportunities of observing, that if certain officers conceived an enmity against an individual, though perhaps from the most trifling cause, it ended only with the death of the miserable object ; for if he endeavoured to reclaim, they would still harrass him with repeated apprehensions, until at length some one would fix him with a crime which perhaps he never committed, or the wretched man, driven by this treatment from every honest employment, has had no resource for his livelihood, but to return to his depredations, and has ultimately fallen a victim, more to the remorseless cupidity of the officers of justice, as they are called, than to the offended laws of his country. Knowing this to be a common case, my fears will not perhaps be considered as groundless ; and after having fully considered the subject, I resolved to quit the metropolis, that I might no longer excite the observation of my enemies, or furnish them with a pretext for persecuting me. I accordingly removed with my family to Rush Green, Lewisham.

The reader will perhaps be at a loss to discover what possible interest the Bow Street officers could feel in the prosecution of the city constables, or why they should interfere in the police of the city ; but when I have related a few short facts, the cause will be apparent.

For some time previous to that of which I am now speaking, the city police had been par-

ticularly inefficient, which gave the Bow Street officers an opportunity of getting employed, and by some their interference was considered as absolutely requisite. This idea they wished to inculcate, and to have it understood that the police of the city could not be well conducted without them. Upon any extraordinary occasion of public parade, where great multitudes were likely to assemble, they volunteered their services, and were sure to be liberally paid; several of the chief constables of Bow Street obtained stationary employments at the Bank; and if any felony was committed, the *active and ingenious* Mr. Townsend, or the *profound and acute* Mr. M'Manus, were the persons resorted to, for the discovery of the depredators. The marshals and their assistants were thus rendered mere secondary objects in the conservation of the peace of the city, and their establishment was considered almost as an unnecessary and burthensome incumbrance.

Mr. Holdsworth, on obtaining the situation of marshal, saw the wretched state of the police; but knowing that it was his duty to superintend that branch of the civil power, and compel the constables and peace officers to guard the property and persons of the citizens, he determined seriously to reform the existing abuses, and render the London police equally respectable with any other in the country, or, if possible, more so. He therefore began actively to employ himself in accomplishing that most desirable object.

This determination of the marshal soon became known to the Bow Street officers; indeed

he requested their assistance, which they most readily promised. In the first place, they represented that it would be necessary to punish, with the utmost severity, any of his officers who had been guilty of misconduct; and secondly, that he should be made acquainted with all the thieves upon the town, and the manner in which they committed their depredations, in order that he might take the necessary precautions to prevent robberies; and if they were nevertheless committed, that he might be enabled to apprehend the offenders. Mr. Holdsworth saw the propriety of these observations, felt himself obliged by the instruction and information they promised, and hoped, with their assistance, to establish, what he so ardently wished, a vigilant and effective police.

As an earnest of the fulfilment of their engagement, the Bow Street officers raised up the prosecution before mentioned against the city constables, and were active and indefatigable in seeking for evidence to prove them guilty of the corruption and malpractices with which they were charged.

They afterwards, under the pretext of making Mr. Holdsworth acquainted with the reputed thieves upon the town, accompanied him to their places of resort. Instead of merely pointing out their persons, as he was led to expect, a formal introduction took place, and he was invited to associate with them, and partake of their libations. But to one hitherto accustomed only to the society of gentlemen, and who had never even witnessed the depraved manners and licen-

tious conversation of such men, these scenes could not be otherwise than disgusting, and Mr. Holdsworth made up his mind, rather to remain in ignorance than purchase his knowledge and experience by a total sacrifice of his feelings and reputation.

It requires no great sagacity to discover the motives by which the Bow Street officers were actuated. They were aware that they had no authority to interfere in the city as a matter of right, and that it was only the despicable state of its police that could, in the least degree, warrant their intrusion; therefore, when a reformation was contemplated, they were alarmed lest it should actually be carried into effect, and their services be no longer required, or even accepted. Hence it was their interest to degrade the city officers as much as possible, and render their imbecility and infamy notorious. And what so likely to accomplish their purpose, as this public prosecution against the officers? or what could so much contribute to depreciate and disgrace the city police, as the rendering ridiculous and contemptible those to whom its superintendence was intrusted? These considerations, no doubt, led the Bow Street officers anxiously to promote the prosecutions against the city constables, and to endeavour to lessen Mr. Holdsworth in the estimation of his constituents, by causing him to associate with the vilest depredators and the scum of society.

But Mr. Holdsworth was possessed of too much discrimination, to be long the dupe of their paltry artifices; having soon penetrated their

designs, he determined to dispense with such assistance as he found they were disposed to afford him, and act for himself. He accordingly insisted on their withdrawing from the city altogether. They, at first, appeared inclined to dispute his authority; but, at length, though with considerable reluctance, they found themselves compelled to yield, and were driven from all their employments, except one, which they retain to this day.*

The Bow Street officers were not the only innovators on the rights of the city; the authority of the magistrates was frequently attempted to be infringed by the magistrates of other districts. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen, however, had the will, as well as the power, to protect their franchises; and accordingly passed resolutions, expressing their determination to maintain their dignity and privileges inviolate.†

* At the Bank of England; but it is a circumstance worthy of observation, that the Bow Street officers have never detected one offender there, during the many years they have been constantly employed.

† The following resolutions were passed---

GLYN, MAYOR.

At a Court of Aldermen held on Tuesday the 15th day of January, 1799, and in the 39th year of the reign of King George the third, of Great Britain, &c.

Resolved, That all offences committed within the City of London against the public peace, by persons resident or apprehended therein, are cognizable *only by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of this City, in their capacity of justices.* And that this court will consider the future interference, on such

Shortly after I received the first visit from the marshals, Mr. Holdsworth discovered the duplicity of the Bow Street officers, who learning that he several times called at my house, attributed the treatment they experienced entirely to me, and conceived, that my suggestions caused their being driven from the city: they therefore threatened me with vengeance; and in addition to the before-mentioned menaces, which they used personally to me, they circulated a report among all the thieves upon the town that I was informing against them, or in their language *nosing* them to the marshals. But for this report, there was not the slightest foundation: I never gave, nor was solicited to give, information against any one. For how was it possible

occasions, of the magistrates of any other place, as an infringement of the privileges of the city, and highly indecorous.

COMBE, MAYOR.

At a Court of Aldermen held on Tuesday the 22d of April 1800, and in the 40th year of the reign of King George the Third, of Great Britain, &c.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this court be given to the Right-Hon. the Lord Mayor, for having communicated a letter written by his Lordship to Sir William Addington, Nicholas Bond, and Richard Ford, Esqrs. complaining of the magistrates of Bow Street having improperly interfered with the magisterial duties of the city magistrates; and also the answers returned by Mr. Ford and Mr. Bond, the former of which is perfectly satisfactory; while this court deem Sir William Addington's silence on the subject disrespectful to the chief magistrate and this court.

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I could, when I never associated with offenders or used the houses they frequented? Indeed Mr. Holdsworth was perfectly satisfied of this fact, or he would never have condescended to treat me with friendship or attention. I merely furnished him with some hints for the *prevention of offences, and suppressing the nurseries of vice*, considering these to be real and lasting benefits to society.

But to return to my narrative,—while I was peaceably passing my time in the bosom of my family at Lewisham, the most dreadful conspiracy was formed to harrass, and if possible destroy me. The first open attack which I received was in the Strand. Having some trifling business to transact in London, I came from Rush Green, and when in town, called upon my wife's sister, who requested me to accompany her to some place where she was going; I complied, and as we were passing Exeter Change, she expressed a wish to see the Panorama. As we were coming away after viewing the picture, a man accosted me, saying, he was a Bow Street officer, and that he must take me into custody. I asked him what reason he had for his conduct, and under what authority he acted; the man civilly answered, "Sir, it's my orders to take you to Bow Street, wherever I see you." I replied, if that was the case, he ought not to be blamed for obeying his orders; and we proceeded to the office. Upon our arrival, Mr. Graham, who was the sitting magistrate, inquired what charge there was against me, and upon the officer repeating what he had before told me,

Mr. Graham ordered me to be instantly discharged. I could not refrain from remonstrating against the treatment I had experienced, and the injustice of the general orders which the officer stated he had received; but I was told there was no reason for complaint, and that the officer had done his duty. After being thus exposed, I left the office amidst the tittering laugh and insulting gestures of several of the officers and their adherents.*

Another method resorted to by the officers to annoy and torment me, was to introduce my name as a subject of conversation at every public house, on the road between London and Rush Green, where, by vilifying me in the most shameful manner, and by fabricating anecdotes respecting me, which they related as facts coming within their own knowledge, they endeavoured to render me an object of suspicion to my neighbours. But they were deceived in their expectations: for my general demeanor, and the rectitude of my conduct were such as to gain me the esteem and respect of all to whom I was known.

As Mr. Canner, the City Deputy Marshal, was extremely active in bringing forward the first charge of forgery against me, it will be necessary that I should enter into some explanation as to the

* The officer was a perfect stranger to me, and could not therefore have any personal motive for troubling me. It was to his superiors I was indebted. I mean those who are called the *Chosen Brethren*. And as they declared against me, the subordinate officers were compelled to follow their leaders.

manner in which he was deceived by interested and evil advisers, and how he was induced to act the part he did.

When the city marshals determined to reform their police, a very laudable emulation actuated them, and they vied with each other in devising and putting in practice such measures as were most likely to accomplish their object; but Mr. Canner resorted to a mode of obtaining information which was truly ridiculous, such as associating with females connected with known characters. This class of people, so far from furnishing him with any particulars likely to raise him in the estimation of the public, were continually misleading him: his evenings, and I might say nights, were spent in a well-known house in Silver Street, Fleet Street; and his most intimate friends were astonished at the change in his conduct. They could not but regret, that a man, who had hitherto been attentive to his moral and religious duties, should become the companion of abandoned profligates, and participate in their nocturnal orgies. He unfortunately had not sufficient discernment to discover the artifices they practised upon him, and there is reason to fear, that, by pursuing the excesses into which they seduced and ensnared him, he hastened his end.

The Bow Street officers, upon being discarded by Mr. Holdsworth, directed their attention to Mr. Canner; and as the emulation I have spoken of excited a jealousy in the latter against his colleague, they found very little difficulty in irritating him against me, by representing that

I assisted Mr. Holdsworth in whatever he did ; but that, ultimately, instead of benefiting the police, I should materially injure it, and that I was merely making the marshal subservient to my own purposes. They impressed him with a belief that I was giving informations against his *new friends*, while these were also told the same story. The failure of the city prosecutions was also attributed to me, and the discomfiture the witnesses experienced in the cross examination by the defendant's counsel, it was said, could not have arisen but for the private history, which I must have furnished, of their former lives. Enemies were by these means raised up against me on every side, and I soon felt the dreadful effects of their united resentment.

For several months previous to my being taken into custody, I was apprized that some conspiracy was forming, and about to be carried into effect, against me, as will appear by the following extract of a letter sent to me at Rush Green. " Sorry I am to communicate any thing to you, likely to disturb your peace a moment ; I should consider myself guilty of ingratitude, was I not to acquaint you, there is at this moment a phalanx determined to pursue you even to destruction ; the principal is W. C. who says, he will not allow you any longer to deceive me. He perceives I am wholly wrapt up in your opinions, and he is determined to tear the veil from before my sight ; in order to effect this, he has engaged in his purposes the following able and political personages, Messrs. Burdett, Dud-

field and Company, who are all determined to dispose of you in some manner or the other. Know then, all of them are busy to bring forward an affair of £700 taken from the person of a man by two ladies." This letter was dated in December, 1801; but though the conspirators had frequent meetings and consultations with each other, and exercised all their ingenuity to hunt after evidence, and find people wicked enough to say any thing they wished, it was not till the month of June following, they imagined their plot sufficiently ripe for execution, at least it was not till then, that active hostilities commenced by taking me into custody.

I will now relate, as concisely and accurately as I can, all the particulars that have come to my knowledge respecting the forgery with which I was first accused, and the circumstances that occasioned my apprehension.

Mr. Spears, a gentleman of respectability, while in a state of intoxication, had his pocket picked, by some women of the town, in the neighbourhood of Fleet Street, of his pocket book, containing, among other papers and property, a bill of exchange for £500. The bills being of little or no use to the women, a man of their acquaintance was employed to dispose of them, who gave them some trifle, as the sum for which he had sold them. A few days after the theft, the bill for £500 was discounted at the house of Lawson and Co. at Richmond in Yorkshire, by a person who signed his name, "*J. Warren.*" This J. Warren was a perfect stranger to the bankers, but he had the address to get into the

company of a Mr. Chadwick, a timber merchant, at Richmond, and, by pretending he had a fall of timber to dispose of, and alluring him with the prospect of a beneficial bargain, induced Mr. Chadwick to pay him every possible attention, and on enquiring who was his banker, and stating that he wanted to get a bill cashed, Mr. Chadwick very readily undertook to introduce him. This was exactly what Mr. Warren wished; the banker's clerk, supposing him to be acquainted with Chadwick, added to his having the appearance and manners of a gentleman, cashed the bill without hesitation.

When the bill became due, the banking-house, upon whom it was drawn in London, refused payment, on the ground that Sir J. Lawson's house had not used necessary caution in discounting it; and an action was brought by the latter to recover the amount.

In the month of July 1801, the cause came on for trial, before Lord Kenyon and a special jury, and a verdict was given in favor of the plaintiffs. The question being of importance to the mercantile world, and a considerable degree of interest excited in the public, the particulars of the trial were reported in all the newspapers of the day. Owing to this publicity, it came to the knowledge of the women who committed the theft, that the whole amount had been obtained for the £500 bill, and feeling themselves much dissatisfied with the insignificant trifle they had received, they sought out the man to whom they had given it, and insisted on having more money. He persisted, however, in declaring he

had sold it for no more than he had given them ; and they then desired to know to whom it had been sold. Upon this he mentioned my name ; but what was his motive for telling this falsehood, I am at a loss to conjecture, unless, in his anxiety to rid himself of their importunities, he imagined they would not dare to trouble me on the subject, knowing I had nothing to do with criminal pursuits, and thinking that I was protected by the attention of the chief marshal : if these, however, were his ideas, he was much deceived. The women, on being told I was the purchaser, came to my sister's house, related the story ; and at the same time threatened what they would do, unless I paid them something handsome. My sister informed them that the whole was false, and that I was not in London at the time they described the sale to have taken place ; however, she appointed them to come at a future day, desired them to bring with them the person from whom they had received their information, and undertook that I should meet them. She then wrote to me what had transpired, and on the day appointed I came to her house, where the women attended, but did not bring the man with them. They repeated their former story and threats, to which I listened with no small degree of patience and surprise ; but after they had finished, I told them plainly, that they had been imposed upon, that I knew nothing of what they were talking about, and that if they dared trouble me with their threats and unjust claims, I would certainly charge a constable with them, and send them to the Compter. Thus, after

some little altercation, they departed, but apparently by no means satisfied with my behaviour towards them.

Shortly after this interview, which was in July 1801, these women became very intimate with Mr. Canner, and, with others of the like description, were constantly his midnight associates. Upon learning, therefore, what had passed, he offered his services to prosecute me, provided they would give him the necessary intelligence and assistance. A plan was immediately formed by the parties, namely, the women who stole the notes, and supposed I had defrauded them; the persons who gave evidence on the trial against the city constables, and the man and woman who kept the house in Silver Street, Fleet Street, where they resorted. From such a group of vicious characters, stimulated by revenge for supposed wrongs, the reader must be convinced that no measures, however desperate, would deter them from prosecuting, and, if possible, accomplishing their object, which was nothing less than my death.

The proceedings of my enemies coming to the knowledge of the chief marshal, and he being satisfied there was no foundation for the charge they were fabricating, expostulated with Mr. Canner, endeavoured to convince him of the injustice he was doing me, and, in order to afford me an opportunity of justifying myself, prevailed on him to give me a personal interview.

The day having been fixed, I attended at the marshal's office; but Mr. Canner, far from being disposed to hear any thing I had to say, accused

me, with great warmth, of having made the chief marshal commit himself; said that I had, ever since our acquaintance, imposed on him, and led him to believe things that never existed. At length, after insinuating that Mr. Holdsworth was easily misled, and that he himself had too much sagacity to be duped by any one, he related the particulars before mentioned, as to my purchasing the bills, and which he said he had obtained from his new friends, who were persons on whom he could place the utmost reliance, and who would not dare to impose a lie on him. As this accusation was delivered in a violent and impetuous manner, I could scarcely restrain my indignation; but I cautioned him not too hastily to form his opinion; and reminded him that his conduct towards me was ungentlemanly and illiberal; that I had met him at his own request to give him any explanation he might require, and should be happy to convince him of his mistake: but as it appeared he was determined to persevere in his opinion, it was useless to argue with one so unjustly prejudiced against me: I lamented that he was so much my enemy, but observed that it was of no consequence, as I had nothing to hide, nor any thing to fear; that I considered myself perfectly at ease, and that some time or other he would be sorry for the manner in which he had treated me; that as to the alleged offence, I courted enquiry, and was ready immediately to go before the Lord Mayor.

Whether the determined manner in which I spoke displeased him, or from what motive I cannot say, but he threatened to knock me

down, and I believe would actually have struck me, had not the chief marshal interfered, and observed that he was going too far. "For myself," said the marshal, "I do not believe the story you have been told; for I know the whole of your informants to be bad and dangerous characters; Mr. Mackcoull has offered to go before the Lord Mayor, which is the only way he can justify himself; if you think proper so to do, his lordship is now in the magisterial chair, and we will go before him." Besides he thought himself as capable of discriminating between truth and falsehood as Mr. Canner, and declared, that so far from being dissatisfied with my conduct, he gave me every credit; that he hoped all this prejudice and ill nature would be done away, and that he should see us on better terms, as he was convinced the whole story arose from the malice and spleen of a party Mr. Canner appeared too fond of; but that he hoped he would not much longer be imposed upon. Mr. Canner, however, refused to hear any thing that was urged by me or Mr. Holdsworth, and having declined going before the Lord Mayor, we parted, and I returned home to Rush Green.

Soon after this, a report was propagated by my enemies, that I had not only purchased the bills but had actually negotiated them in a fictitious name, and thereby been guilty of forgery; and this coming to the ears of a gentleman of extensive knowledge and penetration, filling a high legal situation in the City of London, he communicated on the subject with Mr. Holdsworth,

from whose representation he condescended to grant me an interview. When I waited on this gentleman, he told me he was informed I had been guilty of forgery, that the circumstances he had heard, if true, were very suspicious, and that it was highly necessary I should explain them; but added, if the report was untrue, and I could give a satisfactory explanation, it certainly was cruel in the extreme to raise up and promulgate such a report, and the authors deserved the severest reprehension. I endeavoured, as well as my humble abilities would permit, to make him acquainted with the whole of the facts within my knowledge, and to convince him there was no foundation for the calumny which had been so industriously circulated against me; and in this, I trust, I was successful.

I now clearly perceived the mischievous and diabolical ingenuity that was at work against me; every day messages and letters came informing me of the precautions I ought to take. The chief marshal wrote to describe his fears for my safety, declaring it was not in his power to protect me against so alarming and dangerous a confederacy, and lamented that he had ever known me; considering the acquaintance between us as the cause of my being placed in so unpleasant a situation. My wife and family were in continual apprehension for my safety; and I was reduced to the lowest ebb of wretchedness from the perpetual anxiety I suffered.

When the plan of attack was nearly arranged, a meeting was appointed, and some of the Bow

Street officers were called in as auxiliaries, who soon pointed out the necessary steps to be taken to get me into custody.

On the 6th of June, 1802, William Anthony and ——— Pearkes, formerly a serjeant in the Middlesex militia, then recently made an officer of Bow street, came to my house at Rush Green, said they had a warrant against me for forgery, and that I must go with them to Bow Street. They searched my house, but took nothing away, except some trifling articles of plate, which were afterwards restored.

As this was Sunday, I was detained first at a public house in Bow Street, and afterwards at a watch-house till next morning, when I was taken before Sir Richard Ford, for examination.

One of the women was also brought into the office, having been apprehended for the purpose of confronting me; and it was stated, that she was the person who implicated me as having possession of the stolen bills. The woman declared, however, that she had never had any transaction with me in her life. She admitted, indeed, meeting Mr. Canner and others in Silver Street, and said she had been persuaded to join them in vilifying and injuring me; that she had been induced to do so from some representations which were made, that I was giving information against her friends, and endeavouring to destroy them. She was going on to describe what had passed, but was desired to hold her tongue, and she was instantly discharged.

Mr. Spears attended the examination, and swore that he had been informed and believed, that I

was the person who had negotiated one of the bills, of which he was robbed, at Richmond in Yorkshire; that he had written to that place, respecting the transaction; that he expected an answer in a few days; and that some person would come up to London, who he believed would identify me. Upon this deposition I was ordered to be detained till such answer or person should arrive.

I have no doubt Mr. Spears was induced to make this affidavit by the representations of Mr. Canner and the officers; but I cannot consider him justifiable in swearing to his belief, without having something more to found his judgment on, than the mere assertion of strangers. This plainly shows, however, what an injured man can be persuaded to do, by the insinuation of the interested and malignant.

On the day appointed for the re-examination, I was brought to the office in irons, and kept in the yard some time, during which two of the officers held a conversation with me; but of so slight and incoherent a nature, that I suspected they had some design, and that some purpose was to be answered before I was to be introduced for examination. On looking round, I discovered Anthony and Pearkes in conversation with a country-looking tradesman, and could distinctly hear the words, "that is him:" they stood near the door, but on perceiving my eye directed toward them, disappeared, and in a few minutes after I was called in for examination before Sir Richard Ford. Judge what were my feelings and my astonishment, when this country trades-

man whom I had seen with Anthony and Pearkes, (and who was the Mr. Chadwick before-mentioned as having introduced Mr. Warren to the bankers,) swear positively I was the man who was with him at Richmond, on the 20th of April, 1801; and whom he had shown to the banking-house of Sir John Lawson and Co.: also that the bill of exchange for £500, then produced, was the identical bill he had seen in my possession. Not a muscle of his face was distorted. He gave his evidence in the most cool and decided manner, and the only alteration I could perceive, was when I requested him to look at me attentively, to converse with me, and be assured I was the man, before he was so positive. He then appeared somewhat confused: whether this was apparent to others I know not, but I was in a harsh manner desired to hold my tongue, otherwise the examination should be taken without my being present, as the witness should not be interrupted.

Mr. Humphreys, an attorney of Bernard's Inn, employed to attend the examination on my behalf, being apprized of the conspiracy that was formed against me, and, as I conceive, satisfied of my innocence, assured Sir Richard Ford that Mr. Chadwick was mistaken; as he had every reason to believe that I was not out of London at the time of the transaction. Sir Richard Ford then said, that I must remain in custody until the clerk who discounted the bill should arrive, when if he confirmed Mr. Chadwick in swearing to my identity, he should be under the necessity of committing me for trial.

I had now reason to be thankful for some advice I had received a considerable time before this occurrence. A friend of mine, knowing the enmity I had excited in the officers, advised me, as a security against any tricks they might attempt, to keep a regular diary of my transactions and manner of passing my time; so that, upon reference to it, I could at any time tell how I had been occupied, and with whom I had been in company on any given day. I saw the propriety of this suggestion, and adopted it. To this it is owing that I am at this moment in existence; for it would otherwise have been almost impossible for me to have traced back my recollection for the many months elapsed, so as to have proved where I was at the time I was accused of committing the offence. Upon referring to my diary I perceived, that on the 20th of April, when I was said to be at Richmond in Yorkshire, I had entered into an agreement with Mr. Field, an attorney, of Clifford's Inn, for purchasing the lease of two houses, in one of which I then lived.

A friend of mine had witnessed the signing the agreement, and lent me sixty pounds to enable me to pay the purchase money, part of which was in a check upon a banker, at whose house I presented the check and received the amount. On the day previous, viz. the 19th, I was requested by Mr. Holdsworth to go to Lord Mansfield's house, relative to a deserter from the Middlesex militia, commanded by his lordship. I did so; and was directed by his lordship to communicate a message to his orderly serjeant:

I accordingly went to the serjeant's house ; but not finding him at home, I wrote a note, and left it with his wife, stating the business I had called upon ; *and it is a remarkable coincidence, that this orderly serjeant was no other than Mr. Pearkes, one of the officers who apprehended me.* There were many other persons, with whom I was in company on the very day, and that preceding and following it, but I have only thought it necessary to mention those transactions and circumstances, which appear to me the most prominent and conclusive.

During the time I was at the office, I observed Mr. Canner in conversation with the officers, and when I was brought into the public house after the examination, he opened the door of the room where I was sitting, and sneeringly asked me how I did ; but without waiting for a reply, he withdrew, and violently shut the door.

The day having at length arrived for the final examination, I was brought before Sir Richard Ford, when a gentleman of the name of Priestman, chief clerk at the house of Sir John Lawson and Co. at Richmond in Yorkshire, attended. He related the particulars of his cashing the bill, and of the person presenting it being introduced by Chadwick as Mr. Warren, and indorsing the bill in the name of J. Warren. He was asked if he should know the person again ? He said, he should. He was then desired to look round, and see if the man was present. I was at this time placed at the bar of the office with an iron round my leg ; (no delicacy was observed towards me.) He answered, No ; he did not see any one ; he

knew. Upon this I was pointed out, and he was asked what he thought of me, and if I was not the man: when he without hesitation declared, I was not; nor was there sufficient similitude, in his opinion, to induce any one, who had seen Mr. Warren for a moment, to mistake me for him. On being told what his neighbour Mr. Chadwick had sworn, he said he was sorry to hear it; for he certainly had made a great mistake. The magistrate then asked Mr. Priestman if he would undertake to swear I was not the man; he replied, he would most positively.

Pearkes was reminded of the circumstance of my calling on him and leaving the letter at his house, and questioned respecting it; but he said he did not remember the occurrence, as such a length of time had elapsed. I cannot help thinking that a man of his shrewdness would not easily have forgotten such a circumstance; that, had the letter I left made against me, he would have contrived to produce it, and that the person I left it with would have identified me. But some of these officers of justice have a very convenient memory, and do not recollect any thing unless they choose, or in other words if it is not agreeable to their interest.

There were, if necessary, at least twenty persons to prove my being in London at the time when the transaction took place at Richmond, a distance of two hundred and thirty-three miles, some of whom were very respectable, and came forward unsolicited. I received from one gentleman in particular a letter, now in my possession, in which, after speaking of the diabolical confe-

deracy with horror and detestation, he uses these words, "So satisfied am I of your innocence, and of your being in London on the day you are said to have been at Richmond, that I will most assuredly come forward, and prove to the satisfaction of any court of justice, you was in my company, and that the man, who has dared to swear to the contrary, is a perjured villain."

Sir Richard Ford was satisfied on hearing one evidence only, viz. the gentleman who had witnessed the agreement, which was produced, and who had lent me the £60, as I have before mentioned, and I was to the no small mortification and disappointment of my enemies, discharged.

Chadwick was doubtless told that the women had sold the bills to me; that the officers always act in the most careful manner, and never apprehend any one without being perfectly certain he is the offender; that respecting me they had information upon which they could rely; that I might be somewhat altered, but that nevertheless, they were sure I was the man. With such observations as these, his mind was prejudiced before he saw me; and from my bearing some resemblance to Mr. Warren, he thought perhaps he might venture rather *upon their judgment* than his own, to swear to me; but this is no justification. He should, without listening to the representations of others, have acted from his own unbiassed opinion; and if he had so done, I have every reason to believe I should

not have experienced the inconvenience I did.* The egregious mistake made by Mr. Chadwick, and which had placed me in such a perilous situation, was attributed by the magistrate to the fallibility of human nature; but I confess that the witness's conduct appeared to me at best extremely suspicious. While he was duped by Mr. Warren, he was weak enough to boast of his acquaintance with him; no doubt, from his believing Warren to be the respectable person he represented himself. When, however, the *Forgery* was discovered, application was made to Chadwick to give some account of his friend, and he then denied all knowledge of him. This excited the sarcastic observations of his neighbours, and his former good character alone protected him from an open imputation of being concerned in the nefarious transaction. Whether he was induced to swear to me merely to get rid of the suspicions so entertained against him, whether he really supposed I was the person, or whether he was misled by the representations of others to swear to me upon speculation, must rest with his own conscience to determine. If I could bring my mind to believe, that he had no

* It perhaps occurred to my persecutors, that as Chadwick was a weak man, and had been imposed upon by Warren, that he could be the more readily moulded to their purpose. They therefore preferred having him brought to London to see me in the first place, instead of Mr. Priestman, who had cashed the bill, supposing that if Chadwick identified me, it would influence Mr. Priestman afterwards to do the same.

bad motive, and that it was merely an error of judgment, I would most readily forgive him for the many pangs and anxieties I suffered; but, with the utmost charity, I cannot avoid considering him extremely culpable in giving his evidence so incautiously, where the life of a fellow creature was at stake: for had Mr. Priestman been a weak man, had he not possessed firmness enough to judge and act for himself, he might have fallen into the opinion of his neighbour, and I perhaps have been inevitably sacrificed.

Of all the persons who joined in this conspiracy, none are at this time to be found who might develope the business. Some are dead, others transported. One or two, before death, felt compunction for the injustice they had done me, and acknowledged that I was an ill-used man, particularly him who told the women I had bought the bills. Even had Mr. Canner lived but a short time longer, he would have discovered the impositions that had been practised upon him, and have endeavoured to make me reparation for the injury I had suffered. Mr. Ford the magistrate is also dead, and indeed I know of no one who could satisfactorily demonstrate my innocence except Mr. Humphreys, my then attorney.

I was not disposed to suffer the authors of this diabolical attempt on my life to escape with impunity; and had it in contemplation to indict them for a conspiracy. However, upon consultation with my friends, they advised me to decline it, urging, that as my enemies were so completely foiled on this occasion, they would

never venture any future attack ; that I could gain no more if I prosecuted them, but should thereby perhaps render them desperate ; and that I had therefore better let the business rest. To their advice I yielded.

In order to secure me from future molestation, and that it might always be known how I was engaged, my friends recommended me to enter into the public line of business at some greater distance from town, promising their assistance and support. I accordingly took the George Inn, at Hayes, in Kent. Here I passed for two years the most peaceable time of my life. The profits were just sufficient to support my family, and by my industry, and, I trust, obliging behaviour, I gained the good will and custom of the neighbourhood. Among the gentlemen's families I had the honour to serve, was that of his Majesty's present Attorney General. From this circumstance I felt a confidence that no one would dare oppress or injure me in his vicinity ; and, notwithstanding the insinuations and calumnies that were propagated respecting me, I was allowed to attend his house until the last day of my remaining at Hayes.

While I was thus situated, some daring burglaries were committed at Blackheath : and information having been sent to the office at Bow Street, the officers were furnished with a specious pretence to come round the county, and into my neighbourhood, as if to discover the offenders. They went to several persons living near me, and inquired who kept the Inn (pretending a total ignorance upon the subject—) how many horses

and carriages were kept there—whether the landlord was out late at nights—what sort of persons resorted to the house, together with many other inquiries, calculated to leave very unfavourable and suspicious impressions on the minds of the villagers as to the host of the George; and when my name was mentioned, a significant wink and gestures were given by one to the other, which confirmed the impressions first insinuated. This conduct answered their purpose; for the story soon spread with every exaggeration and embellishment, and no doubt at length reached the ears of the acting magistrates of the district. For in September following, on applying for the renewal of my licence, I was informed by them, it would not be granted. I in vain inquired the reason; the only answer I could get was, “Sir, we don’t chuse to grant you any.” Astonished at this treatment, and conscious that no just cause existed to warrant such harsh usage and injury to my property, I immediately requested a vestry to be convened in my parish. I attended the meeting, mentioned what occurred regarding my licence, and asked if any one had a complaint to make, either as to my conduct or the management of the house; whether they had observed any thing the least indecorous or improper, and whether I had given offence to any person in the neighbourhood.

The parish officers and all present declared they had no complaint whatever to make; on the contrary, they were perfectly satisfied with my conduct; that they were sorry to hear my licence was stopped; and offered their services in any

way I could point out to get it restored. The Clergyman, who lived within two or three doors of me, also said, he had no complaint to make, that he certainly should wait on a neighbouring magistrate, to know the reason why my licence was stopped, and would render me any service in his power: at the same time he gave me to understand, that something had been said not at all to my advantage; but as it was not in an open and candid manner, he considered it undeserving much attention. Perceiving my feelings were wounded, this reverend gentleman with that delicacy, tenderness, and humanity so peculiar to himself, would not enter into the particulars of what he had heard, but he kept his word by interceding on my behalf; and through his kind and favourable representation my licence was renewed.

Being thus disgraced in the eyes of my neighbours, and the good reputation I had so long and so assiduously endeavoured to obtain, in some measure blasted by the dark insinuations of my enemies, I could not, without experiencing great mortification, remain at Hayes, and therefore, as early as possible, I found a person to take the house off my hands.

It was asserted, among other things, that I intended to defraud every one with whom I could get in debt: and hence, although I had hitherto maintained a good reputation with my neighbours, some of those to whom I owed money, learning I was about to quit, grew anxious to be paid. Somewhat indignant at this, when I received the amount of the

appraisement for my house, fixtures, &c. I resolved to convince my creditors that I had an opportunity of going away unmolested, if I pleased; and that their apprehensions were unfounded. I therefore quitted the village for an hour or two, then returned and paid every shilling I owed, leaving myself almost penniless.

During the time I lived at Lewisham and at Hayes, I defy the strictest moralist to call my conduct in question; every one was treated by me with civility and good manners; I did no wrong or injury to any person whatever, nor can my most vindictive enemies accuse me of having deviated from the path of truth and rectitude. Indeed a stronger proof of my good conduct cannot be adduced, than the marks of friendship and attachment I still experience when visiting that neighbourhood.

Thus driven by my persecutors from gaining a livelihood in the country, and having a large family dependent upon me for support, I took several houses in the city; one for my own occupation, the others to let ready furnished or otherwise, the emoluments from these afforded me ample means of support, and left me neither the necessity or the inclination to resort to dishonest or criminal pursuits.

It was determined, however, that I should not long enjoy repose from persecution; and I am now to describe as systematic and disgraceful an attempt to take away the life of an individual, as was perhaps ever witnessed in this or any other country, by rendering the law itself an instrument of satiating the most malignant resentment.

Nor will my expressions be deemed too severe when the facts are detailed. Far be it from me to excite an unjust indignation against my persecutors, by loading them with unfounded opprobrium, or ascribing to them motives by which they were not really actuated. But considering the injuries I have sustained, the dreadful anxiety I have experienced, and the extreme jeopardy in which my life has been placed, it might not perhaps be extraordinary, if their intended victim should appear to speak of the authors of his wrongs with some degree of warmth; but however this may be, it is rather my object to shew the wretched state to which men are reduced, if once accused, once obnoxious to the officers of justice, than to retaliate a feeble paper resentment on those who can scarcely feel the wound.

In the afternoon of Friday, the 3d of April, 1807, Adkins and Anthony, two Bow Street officers, came to my house. Adkins entered first, and asked if Mr. Mackcoull was at home. Hearing the enquiry, I went to the kitchen door and met him. He asked if I did not know him; I answered, no, I did not. He said his name was Adkins, and that he belonged to Bow Street office: at this instant Anthony came in, and, in a rude manner, said he came to take me to the office, and to search my house. I begged to see their warrant or authority for such proceedings. Anthony said he had Mr. Read the magistrate's order for what he was doing; I observed that I could not patiently submit to such an outrage on my person and property, without their shewing me by what authority they

acted, as I was conscious that no part of my conduct could be called in question, or justify them in treating me in so shameful a manner; and that, well knowing the corporation of the city of London was extremely adverse to strange officers acting in their jurisdiction without a warrant, or a city officer being present, I would certainly alarm the neighbourhood, if they persisted in treating me and my family with any violence; but in order to convince them of the respect I considered due to the magistrates, if they would shew me Mr. Read's order, and inform me of the charge, they should then be at liberty to act as they thought proper. To this remonstrance Anthony made the following reply, at the same instant seizing me by the collar, and forcing me violently into the parlour: "Damn your eyes, you bloody thief, I am not going to stand your humbug stuff; I will *frisk** you and your *crib*† too: and how will you help yourself? There wants no warrant to take a thief." I called out Murder! upon which they forced me on a sofa, held me by the throat, and thrust their hands into my pockets. My wife, who was in the adjoining house, came to my assistance, and inquired what was the reason they used me thus, and called upon them for God's sake not to ill treat me. Without any ceremony Adkins struck her on the breast, and knocked her down. Recollecting that resistance on my part might cause a riot, and afford

* Search.

† House.

these men a pretence for further ill-using me and my family, and this under the pretence of being obstructed in what they were pleased to term their duty, I submitted to let them search me and my house, and do whatever they thought proper, observing, that I would most assuredly call them hereafter to a strict account. Meanwhile I desired my servants to watch them particularly during the search, and notice their conduct. Thus they proceeded to search me, but took nothing from my person, except my pocket book with its contents. After ransacking the house, and doing whatever they pleased, they took me away, and proceeded toward Bow Street; but on passing the Mansion-house, I insisted upon stopping and leaving word, that I was taken into custody by them. To this they consented, though not without considerable reluctance, and bestowing on me some ill words. On entering the Mansion-house, I observed Mr. Holdsworth going into his office, and informed him what had happened. He asked if they had a warrant, and whether any city officer was with them? To which Anthony answered as he had before to me. "That they had Mr. Read's order and they had done it." To which the marshal replied, "So it appeared; but where was Mr. Read's order? for they certainly knew it was contrary to the wish of the corporation of the City of London, to take such steps without their authority: and as the Lord Mayor had but just left the justice room, they could easily have obtained his sanction to do whatever was requisite to further the purposes of justice: but that,

by acting as they had done, they had shewn the most marked disrespect both to the Lord Mayor and the officers under him; and that it would have been but decent to have asked the interference of the Lord Mayor, as they must have passed the Mansion-house, on their way to where the prisoner lived." To this remonstrance, delivered in a cool and gentlemanly manner, Anthony replied sarcastically, "We have not the order about us, but we have done it;" at the same time looking at him contemptuously. The marshal provoked at such indecent behaviour, declared he had a great mind to send them and their prisoner to the Compter, and certainly would have done so, had I not interfered, and requested the marshal not to let me be the cause of any dispute between the magistrates of the city of London and the magistrates of Bow Street; at the same time, soliciting him to be so kind as mark the notes and papers contained in my pocket book. He asked Anthony and Adkins for them, who, after some hesitation, gave him the book for that purpose. Mr. Holdsworth, after putting his private mark on the papers, returned them the book. He again observed it was my own fault if I went out of the city, until I had been before a city magistrate; but, being conscious of my innocence, I waved the interposition of the marshal, and gave him this answer: "Sir, I feel myself very much obliged to you, for your goodness towards me, but, as I have nothing to fear, it is of no consequence before whom I go to be examined. I know well, that I am in the hands of men who are seeking a pretence to destroy me; for they have inhumanly

and publicly avowed their murderous intention ; but God is good ! God is just ! I am not afraid."

We then quitted the marshal's office, and Adkins having left us, Anthony and myself went on toward Cheapside, where we got into a coach, and I was no sooner seated, than Anthony began to attack me with a torrent of the most virulent abuse. From the perturbation of my mind, I cannot state the whole ; but the following is a part. " Well, damn your eyes, I have *nailed* you now, I believe. I wish I could have caught the marshal putting me in the Compter." I told him, I wished to avoid altercation, and that the magistrates would soon decide who was right, and who was wrong. He answered " Yes, I am damned if they won't soon decide that." I told him, it was very strange, he should treat me in the manner he did ; and on my reminding him, that I had heard of his repeated declarations, that he would never leave me : he said, " Well, what of it ? don't you see then I am as good as my word ?" I answered, " I saw it but too clearly ; that for years I had experienced the persecuting spirit that existed among the officers of Bow Street, and that I must, however reluctantly, throw myself on the public for protection." He continued his abuse for some time, but, as I considered it useless to speak or answer him, lest he should mis-interpret my words, I remained silent. This he construed into sulkiness, and became more violent than ever, insomuch that I was fearful he would strike me. He declared, that nothing short of my death should appease him, and of that he was now certain, for

I should as surely be *twisted**, as God made him. Irritated and provoked to a degree of desperation, I thus addressed him : “ I fear God has nothing to do with you, thou cool-blooded villain, who, without any provocation can thus ill-treat and abuse me. Do your duty as an officer of justice : do it like a man, and not like a murderer.” By this time, having nearly arrived at Bow Street, I asked where he meant to take me, and if he would let me go to Carpmeal’s (a public-house a few doors from the office) until the magistrates came. He said “ he would be damned if he would show me any favor : he would lock me up in the strong room† at the Brown Bear :” which he accordingly did ; observing, he had done his duty, and if I did not like it, he would do more.

Soon after this, my wife arriving, I sent her to Mr. Humphreys the attorney, to desire him to come to me immediately. It was nearly six o’clock in the evening, before Mr. Humphreys appeared. I informed how I had been treated, and implored him to defend me to his utmost ; observing, that let the charge be what it might, if it was of a criminal nature, I was innocent ; and that no man upon earth could more carefully avoid even affording a suspicion of his doing wrong. As a proof my declaration was sincere I said, that, if he should discover any thing that even left a doubt

* Hanged.

† A dismal filthy place, which has more the appearance of a dungeon for convicted felons, than for persons who are under restraint merely until the charge against them is investigated.

on his mind, and if I did not satisfactorily convince him of my innocence, I would give him free liberty to desert me and join the prosecution. Mr. Humphreys replied, " he was satisfied of my innocence, and would most assuredly defend me ; for he well knew I was not in the habit of doing wrong ; that he would go over to the office, learn the charge, and then let me know further about it."

In a short time he returned ; but what was my surprise and astonishment, when he informed me, he was concerned for the prosecution, that when the offence was committed, he had prepared the information and therefore could not defend me. He, however, desired me to make my mind easy, as every thing on his part should be conducted fairly and honorably ; adding that Sir William Parsons was the sitting magistrate, and that I should very soon be examined.*

I was shortly after taken to the office, when Sir William Parsons told me, I was apprehended for a felony and forgery : and directed an information, which had been taken, to be read

* The conduct of Mr. Humphreys struck me at the time as very unaccountable ; had he been employed to *prosecute*, why was he not at the office with the Prosecutors ? why had he not been directing their proceedings previous to my apprehension ? for doubtless they had been acting under legal advice ; and how happened it that *at my instance alone* he was brought to Bow Street ? These circumstances were to me inexplicable. But the reader should know he was at this time considered the ablest solicitor in the crown law, a great favourite with the Bow Street Magistrates ; and it was therefore a great object with my prosecutors to obtain his assistance.

over. It stated that a paper parcel had been stolen from the Edinburgh mail coach, containing bills of exchange and local and other notes to the amount of £4500; and Adkins the officer deposed, that he had reason to believe I had forged endorsements on some of the bills, and negotiated them; and it was stated, that the witnesses to prove the identity of the person, were at a considerable distance in the country, but that they would come to London when apprized of my apprehension. I was then committed to New Prison until the following Wednesday, the 8th of April.

On Sunday, the 5th of April, Adkins and Anthony, not content with the violence with which they had already treated me, again entered and searched my house, without any warrant or city officer attending, and behaved toward my wife and sister in the most rude and impudent manner; amusing themselves with reading over my private papers, and making their insolent remarks. They were upon this occasion also requested to produce their warrant, and the answer given by Anthony was, "Damn your eyes, we will come when we like. Do you think we shall ask such a bitch as you? Now, ma'am, you see we took the liberty of taking your husband without a warrant, and we now come again, ma'am, and search your house without a warrant; and we will come again and again, if we like it, and how can you help yourself?" My wife said, they need not abuse and ill-treat her, nor was there any necessity to use foul language; she had given them no offence or provocation, and it was unmanly thus to

treat her. This remonstrance appeared to have its effect on Adkins, who desired Anthony to desist, as he did not like to see a woman in tears. At length, after turning every thing over in the house, and searching it minutely, for nearly two hours, they inquired if I did not keep a diary, and where it was? My wife would not give them any answer; and notwithstanding they had their hands on the place where it was deposited, it escaped their notice. This I shall always consider a very fortunate circumstance, and that Providence here protected me: for, had that book fallen into their hands, they might, by destroying or keeping it from me, have deprived me of all means of defence; because from accustoming myself to enter, in this book, the places where I pass my time, and the persons I pass it with, I do not retain those circumstances so much in my recollection as others do, and should not therefore have been able to remember how I was occupied on the days when the offences were committed, with which I was to be accused.

My wife immediately after brought me the diary: and, to prevent its being taken away, it was deposited with a friend. The officers, however, took away three books, which had been written by me some years, and which it was never intended should be published. They contained biographical sketches of the lives of several characters upon the town, and, as their vices and means of obtaining a livelihood were exposed and reprobated, it furnished Anthony with an opportunity of irritating some of those persons against me,

and of convincing them, as he said, of the friendship he had toward them, and how much they ought to despise me. A number of them were therefore invited to a noted house resorted to by depredators, and those parts, which appeared most obnoxious to them, were selected and read, doubtless to induce them to become coadjutors in the mischief that was preparing against me. And to irritate them, they were told that all the paragraphs then lately inserted in the public prints describing known characters in cant phrases, and urging the exertions of the police were my productions.

I wish Mr. Anthony had condescended to read the books throughout ; but this would not have answered his purpose : and although I much doubt whether he was not callous to all sense of shame, I do not believe, he could have performed this task without evident confusion ; for I had not merely confined myself to relating anecdotes, but observed on the mischiefs arising from the confederacy too generally formed between *thief* and *thief-taker* : the former associating with his accomplices, joining in their depredations, or worming from others their secrets, and then, to curry favor with the police officer, and under promise of being protected, furnishing information to bring his companions to the scaffold ; whereas, if proper regulations were adopted, and due vigilance observed, offences might be prevented. I also pointed out such methods as occurred to me, to assist this desirable purpose, and the absurdity of believing that police officers could prevent the law being put into execution. I particularly urged the

necessity of suppressing houses kept for no other purpose but harbouring characters known to live only by depredation. I described these houses as the very hot-beds of vice, in which youths are permitted to assemble with old practitioners in villainy, and when sufficiently initiated, sent out to rob and pillage the public, adding that I considered them as receptacles for nourishing and rearing young men to mischief, for no other purpose than that of afterwards destroying them ; I endeavoured to show that the only persons deriving benefit from such houses were the police officers, who, in many instances, were greater pests of society than the thieves they are employed to look after ; that the unfortunate victims who frequent these houses fall in succession, each in turn being sacrificed to the interest or caprice of these pretended officers of justice. And I lamented that young men should not see the fatal error of continuing their dishonest pursuits, being evidently attended with so many and certain disadvantages ; that they are detested and treated with every mark of contempt by all mankind ; scoffed at, and ridiculed for their credulity by the very officers who pretend to be their friends ; that, if themselves do not harrass them, they point them out to their colleagues ; and I observed that no temporary luxury or pleasure, obtained by common plunder, could compensate for the distress and anguish of mind infallibly entailed upon the plunderer : as anxiety and misery are his constant attendants, and disease and destruction must ultimately be his portion.

During the interval between my first and second examination, I was recommended to employ Mr. Harmer, as my solicitor; and, having read a pamphlet written by him, vindicating two unfortunate men*, who had then recently suffered, I very readily engaged him to defend me.

While I continued in the New Prison, the gaoler very humanely suffered me to be without an iron; but on the 8th of April, a Bow Street officer who came to take me up for examination, insisted on my being ironed, and then handcuffed to another prisoner, taking care I should pay the coach-hire for both. On my arrival at the office, Mr. Harmer attended, with Mr. Alley as my counsel, and I was informed Sir William Parsons had directed the examination to be conducted with caution and fairness; and said that as the charge was of a very serious nature, and as every thing depended on identity, he would take all possible care, that no prejudice or undue influence whatever should be used; that he would order all the witnesses to be placed in a room up stairs; that the fetter should be taken off; that I should be among the auditors in the office, that if any of the witnesses knew me, they might select me out fairly and decidedly; observing that if a witness knows a man, he can pick him out of a thousand when fairly placed, and if he cannot do so, his evidence of identity would not be worth consideration. Sir William likewise gave orders,

* Holloway and Haggerty, who were convicted and executed as the murderers of Mr. Steele.

that none of the witnesses should go to the window to see me brought over. Agreeably to this arrangement, I was placed with about six or eight other persons in the same part of the office, and the witnesses above stairs were called down, and desired by Sir William to see if they could recognize any one. I was in the front row, and after the witnesses had looked very carefully for several minutes, Sir William Parsons asked them if they saw any one in the office whom they knew; which question was repeated twice or thrice: but one and all declared the offender was not present. Sir William Parsons then said, in justice to the accused, it should be stated that nothing appeared at present to connect him with the offence; and I was ordered with the persons in the office to retire.

It was suggested to the magistrate by those concerned for the prosecution, that there were still other persons on their way to town, that would probably know me; and as they were daily expected, it was requested that I might be detained till their arrival; Sir William Parsons accordingly directed, that I should be brought before him again on the Monday following: and said, that if nothing then appeared against me, I should be discharged.

The laudable and praise-worthy anxiety which Sir William Parsons evinced, to do equal justice to the accused and the accusers, and to prevent the possibility of an undue prejudice operating against me, the officers attempted to frustrate by taking an opportunity, previous to the witnesses coming into the office, to describe me; and by

telling them that the person in custody, and whom they were brought to look at, was bald upon the fore part of his head*. The witnesses were therefore prepared to pay particular attention to any one who might answer such a description ; but as it happened, there were two or three others who were also bald, among the few auditors with whom I was placed ; so that the witnesses could not venture to make a selection, therefore, for the moment, I avoided this snare of my enemies.

Mr. Harmer learnt at this examination, that the forgeries now attributed to me were committed in the name of *Warren* ; and as I had acquainted him with the particular of the former charge against me, of uttering a bill in that name at Richmond in Yorkshire, he advised me not to make myself uneasy ; for he had no doubt, when the magistrate knew how satisfactorily I had demonstrated my innocence upon that occasion, he would dismiss the present accusation, as it appeared that they had unquestionably been committed by the same person. Indeed Mr. Kensington told Mr. Harmer, that not only the name but the hand-writing on the present bills exactly corresponded with the indorsement of the bill negotiated at Richmond.

I have mentioned that a future examination was appointed for Monday the 13th of April ; but

* This fact has been since told me by one of the witnesses, who besides says that great pains were taken to traduce me, and to impress him and the others with a persuasion that I was the man who committed the forgeries.

to my no small surprize, and without receiving any previous intimation, I was taken to Bow Street on Saturday the 11th. Here I was not, as before, kept at the public house until the examination should commence, but taken into the yard belonging to the office with an iron upon my leg ; and after I had been there some time, one of the officers came and sarcastically said, " Damn your eyes, take him over the way, and knock the iron off. You know he must not be brought into the office with irons." I saw through the artifice of this pretended fairness, and observed, that as all the persons in the office must have seen me, it was now of no consequence whether the fetter was taken off or not. They, however, took me to the Brown Bear, and having knocked off the iron, I was hurried over to the office for examination; and I confess that my surprize was greatly increased, when I perceived that, instead of Sir William Parsons presiding, he was not present, and that two other magistrates, Mr. Read and Mr. Graham, were upon the bench. The reason for taking me up on Saturday, and examining me before fresh magistrates, was at that time to me an enigma ; but it required no great ingenuity to solve it, when the facts I shall hereafter detail are known*.

* The reader should be apprized that the magistrates have their set days of attendance, and that it is unusual for one to interfere with what is considered the business of another : therefore the magistrate who originally commences the investigation of a case, continues such investigation until the accused is committed for trial or discharged ; and if the evidence is incomplete, the examination is adjourned, till the same magistrate attends.

I was placed as before among a few auditors, and I observed a gentleman, who afterwards turned out to be William Baynton, looking with the most inquiring eye at every one present; but, though I was foremost, and the nearest to him, he looked most anxiously in every corner of the room, as if to see some other person. After having scrutinized every one for a considerable time, the patience of the magistrates appeared exhausted, and Mr. Read asking if he saw any one he could speak to, he answered, pointing to me, "*this is most like the man of any one in the company.*" I was then ordered to the bar where criminals are placed, the magistrates observing that they saw no reason why any particular delicacy should be shewn to me more than others, and they then began to interrogate Baynton. But of all the examinations that were ever witnessed, surely none could equal this; never, I think, did magistrates take so decided a part against the accused, as did Mr. Read and Mr. Graham against me. For I verily believe, had Baynton been left to give his own account, he would no more have ventured to fix on me, even as to his belief, that on either of their worships. But in proportion as he appeared reluctant, they were importuning, and the utmost ingenuity was exerted to reconcile it to his conscience to identify me. The magistrates (able and discriminating as I acknowledge they are,) must have been imposed upon by gross misrepresentations to believe that I was certainly guilty of the offence; and, in their zeal for public justice, and their apprehensions lest I should escape detection for want of evidence,

must have been induced to act in the manner described. The following, as well as I can recollect, is what passed. Baynton being asked whether he thought I was the man, answered he should not like to swear to me. Why did he say I was most like the man of any one present? He replied, "because I was nearly bald on the forepart of the head, and so was the man with whom he had the transaction in the country. If Baynton was correct, I was certainly the most like the offender of any one placed for him to look at, as there was this day no one except myself, in the least bald. Baynton, however, did not for some time appear to have the least idea of accusing me, but merely endeavoured to describe what sort of man the offender was; and it is to be recollected, that previous to his coming into the office, he had learnt that the man he was brought to look at *was bald*. He was then reminded that he had said I bore a resemblance to the person, and told, that he must have a belief either one way or the other; that he was not asked to swear positively, but merely as to his belief. These and similar observations were frequently repeated to him, and he as frequently answered, that he should not wish to swear that he believed me to be the man. However, he was still further urged upon the subject, and told, that as he admitted I was like the offender, he could not swear I was *not* the person, and that it could not be conceived, why he should feel any difficulty in swearing to his belief. He hesitated for some minutes, and was desired to turn away, and say what impression was left on his mind; and he then used these expressions; "*I think, I believe,*

"*he is the man.*" The clerk was then directed to take down his examination ; and while it was preparing he again expressed his repugnance to swear to me, and said that, if I was the person, the difference in my dress made a considerable alteration in me, and that the man had on a blue coat. I immediately offered to put on a blue coat, if they would procure one, or make any other alteration in my dress which they might suggest ; but this was declined ; and ultimately Mr. Baynton, as it appeared to me, rather than submit to further importunity, consented to say, he believed I had discounted one of the forged bills with him on the 19th of March at Congleton in Cheshire.

I was now remanded back to New Prison, and ordered to be brought up on the Monday. But previous to my leaving Bow Street, I was ironed and hand-cuffed to a poor unfortunate wretch swarming with vermin.

The reason assigned for taking me up so hastily, and before the time regularly appointed for my examination, was, that Mr. Baynton had particular business which required him to return directly into the country. But my understanding was not so shallow as to credit this. Being however ignorant at that time of any other motive or object which the prosecutor had in view, I conceived they had taken umbrage at the candid manner in which Sir William Parsons behaved, and had therefore practised some manoeuvre to prevent his again presiding. I could not, for a moment, believe, that a man would come a considerable distance upon such an occasion, and expect to return immediately ; especially as he was

only in the situation of a clerk, and his presence therefore might the more readily be dispensed with. He must, as it seemed to me, have made his arrangements to stay two or three days at least in London; and as he arrived on the Saturday, surely he could have suffered no great inconvenience in remaining till the Monday, when I should in the regular course have been brought to the office. But in order most fully to demonstrate that it was a mere pretext, it need only be mentioned that Mr. Baynton continued in London until my last examination, which was nearly *three weeks* afterwards.

Finding that the offence with which I was accused by Baynton was committed on the 19th of March, I referred to my diary, and perceived that I was not only at home on that day, but for several days before and after. On the 18th in particular Mr. and Mrs. Grimaldi and my wife's sister dined and spent the evening with me at my own house. I had also had transactions with several persons, which shall be hereafter related, and from the nature of which, it will be seen, that the parties could not be mistaken as to the dates. I mentioned these particulars to Mr. Harmer, who advised me to request those who could prove my being then in London to attend the magistrates, and convince them of my innocence. He undertook himself to wait upon Mr. and Mrs. Grimaldi, both of whom, as he informs me, perfectly recollected the day they dined with me, before he acquainted them with his reason for making the inquiry, and kindly promised to come forward and

prove the fact, if necessary. Several others who had seen me in London during that week, likewise stated their readiness to come forward, if required.

On Monday the 13th of April, I was again brought before Messrs. Read and Graham, when to my inexpressible astonishment, three other persons, Robert Cooper, James Bell, and Thomas Smedley, who had discounted or cashed others of the stolen bills, came forward to give evidence. It is true, they spoke with considerable diffidence, even as to their belief that I was the man with whom they had transactions; yet their evidence, slight as it was, had the effect of strengthening the suspicions against me. *But will it be credited, that Cooper, Bell, and Smedley, were all present at the previous examination before Sir W. Parsons, that they were all looking at me for ten minutes or more, and were several times DISTINCTLY* asked by the magistrate, whether they knew any one in the office? which all denied.* Will it be credited, I say, that men, who had been so circumstanced, should afterwards *make up their minds†*, two of them to swear, that they believed I was the man who negotiated with them the forged bills, and the third to state, I was like the man, though he would not take upon himself to swear he believed I was.

At the time these witnesses gave their deposi-

* The reader will hereafter find that Mr. Kensington swore on my trial that the witnesses were not *distinctly* asked by Sir William Parsons to point out the man if he was in the office.

† These were the expressions of the witnesses on my trial.

tions, I had not the slightest suspicion they were present at the former examination before Sir William Parsons, nor was either myself or my solicitor at all apprized of that circumstance, until I was on my trial, when it accidentally came out on the cross-examination of Mr. Kensington. The reason for changing the magistrate then became obvious. The prosecutor must have been convinced, from the specimen which Sir William Parsons had already given of his disposition to administer justice fairly and liberally, that he would not have received their depositions, or have permitted them to swear to my identity when they could not select me from half a dozen persons.

Mr. Alley assured the magistrates of my innocence, and informed them he could produce many witnesses to prove, that I was in London during the whole of the week, in which the bills were negotiated, mentioning among others the names of Mr. and Mrs. Grimaldi; and the magistrates at his request appointed the next day to hear my witnesses.

I cannot omit here stating another instance of the unfeeling brutality of Anthony. While I was at the bar, and my mind in the utmost perturbation, indeed almost in a state of distraction at hearing myself accused with offences affecting my life, of which I knew myself innocent; Anthony kept sneering at me, and with a smile of malignant satisfaction continued insulting me in the most indecent and unfeeling manner: at one time looking with exultation at the fetter upon my leg, at another mimicking my demeanor. At length Mr. Harmer observed and looked at him with in-

dignation ; this had the effect of making him alter his conduct publicly, but he withdrew to a part of the office where he could not be observed by the magistrates, my counsel, or solicitor, and there repeated his insulting gestures.

At the time I was returning to prison, on this occasion I was hand-cuffed to a diseased woman, who was committed, I believe, for vagrancy ; and several of the officers stood by while the hand-cuffs were fixing, and entertained themselves with impudent and obscene remarks, which produced loud peals of laughter. I ought, however, in justice to the gaoler who accompanied me to and from prison, and who was an inferior officer, to observe, that he always unlocked the hand-cuffs as soon as he got out of Bow Street, and apologized for his conduct toward me ; saying that, if it were known he treated me with civility, he might probably lose his situation.

As I am now in possession of copies of the depositions given by the witnesses for the prosecution, I think, it will be necessary that I should state them, previous to my detailing the evidence adduced on my behalf before the magistrate, as the reader will thereby see, whether I did not, *then*, satisfactorily shew that there was no foundation for the charges exhibited against me. The following are the depositions.

“ ROBERT COLLINSON, clerk to Messrs. Wylde, Brettell, and Bolger, of *Southwell*, Nottinghamshire, Bankers, deposed that on the 11th of March last, he made up a parcel, containing bills and notes to the amount of upwards of four thousand pounds, which he directed to Messrs.

“ Kensington, Styan, and Adams, No. 20, Lombard Street, London; and delivered it on the evening of that day at the post office at Southwell, to be forwarded by the mail coach to London: and that the bills of exchange then produced, (which are those mentioned in the other commitments,) were part of the contents of the said parcel.”

“ THOMAS BOLGER, confirmed Collinson as to the parcel being packed, &c. and said, he understood, and believed, it was delivered to the Edinburgh mail coach, at *Newark*, to be forwarded to London on the 12th of March.”

“ EDWARD KENSINGTON, Banker, of Lombard Street, London, proved that the parcel never arrived, and that, in case it had been conveyed safely, it ought to have been delivered on the 13th of March.”

“ ROBERT COOPER, clerk to Meek and Co. of *Burton upon Trent*, stated on the 17th of March last he discounted the bill then produced for one hundred and fifty pounds, *for a person who was very like the prisoner*, but that he could not undertake to say he believed him to be the man; that the said man wrote the name J. Warren, upon the back of the said bill.”

“ JAMES BELL, of *Uttoxeter*, Banker, stated that the bill then produced for the sum of one hundred and ninety pounds fourteen shillings was brought to his bank on the 18th of March last, to be discounted by a person *whom he believed to be the prisoner*, and who wrote the name of J. Warren on the back of the said bill.”

“ WILLIAM BAYNTON, clerk to Johnson and

“ Co. of Congleton in Cheshire, Bankers, deposed
 “ that on *the 19th of March last* a person came to
 “ the said bank, and asked the witness to dis-
 “ count him a bill for the sum of one hundred and
 “ four pounds six shillings and one penny, which
 “ the witness did, and asked the person to write
 “ his name on the back of it, when he wrote J.
 “ Warren ; *that he believed the prisoner, J. Mack-*
 “ *coull, to be the person who uttered the said bill.*”

“ THOMAS SMEDLEY, clerk to Askwright,
 “ Toplis and Co. Bankers at *Wirksworth, Derby-*
 “ *shire*, deposed that on *the 20th of March last, a*
 “ *person whom he believed to be the prisoner, came*
 “ to their banking-house and produced the bill of
 “ exchange then shewn him for the sum of four
 “ hundred and twenty-seven pounds ten shillings,
 “ and asked the witness to discount it for him,
 “ which he did.”

It will be seen by these depositions, that the
 parcel was stolen between the 12th and 13th of
 March. That one bill of exchange was dis-
 counted at Burton upon Trent, 123 miles from
 London, on the 17th of March ; another at Ut-
 toxeter, 139 miles from London, on the 18th of
 March ; a third at Congleton in Cheshire, 140, on
 the 19th of March ; and a fourth at Wirksworth in
 Derbyshire, 160 miles, on the 20th of March. As
 the same name was used upon all these occasions,
 and the description of the person and hand-writing
 exactly corresponded, it is evident that these of-
 fences were committed by the same man ; therefore,
 to establish my innocence, it was only necessary to
 show that I was in London on any one of those
 days ; but fortunately for me, I was able to prove

most unequivocally, by the testimony of witnesses whose veracity could not be doubted, that I was in London on every one of them.

On Tuesday the 14th of April, I was again brought up, agreeably to the appointment of Mr. Read and Mr. Graham, in order that the evidence I had to offer might be examined; but as I could not, on so short notice, collect all my witnesses together, some few who attended were then examined, and I was told, that any others I had to produce would be heard at my next examination, which was appointed for the 23d. The following are the persons who attended on those days on my behalf, and who underwent a most severe and strict cross-examination, during which equal pains were taken to intimidate and confuse them, as had been used to assist the witnesses against me.

MRS. CARDEN, who then lived servant with me, proved that I never slept out of town during the whole of the month of March, but on the 13th: that I went from home on the morning of that day in company with Mr. Bologna and returned in the afternoon of the 14th. That on the 18th of March, Mr., Mrs. Grimaldi, and Mrs. Harroway dined with me, and that she dressed the dinner.

ELIZABETH LIQUORISH, sister to the last witness, proved that she drank tea with her sister on Monday the 16th of March; that they afterwards went to the play together, and that she slept at my house that night; that she saw me before she went to the play, and after they returned, and during the whole of the next day, (the 17th,) when she remained, and helped her sister, who was washing.

SARAH BURRIDGE, another of my servants, proved the same facts, and that she waited on us at dinner on the 18th of March.

MR. PRIME, a respectable brewer of Wallingham, in the county of Surry, proved my paying him a bill for ale on the 16th of March, and that he gave me a receipt for it at the time*.

MR. WILLIAM HOPKINS, of Wardour Street, Soho, shoe-maker, proved his calling on me on the morning of the 17th of March, and his receiving an order for some articles which he delivered to me personally on the morning of the 18th, and produced his book in which the entries appeared.

SUSANNAH CLENCY, who lived servant with me previous to the 18th of March, proved that on that day she saw me in London, and that I then dismissed her from my service.

ELIZABETH RHODES proved, that on the 18th of March I engaged her to come into my service; and to confirm her evidence, her husband attended with a pocket-book, in which he had made a memorandum of the day.

Mr. GRIMALDI deposed, that himself, his wife, and Mrs. Harroway, dined with me at my house on the 18th of March.

Mrs. HARROWAY, proved the same fact.

Mrs. STEWARTSON, who keeps a fruiterer's shop in Spread-Eagle Court, Threadneedle Street, proved that on the 18th of March I personally gave

* This receipt was in my pocket book, then in the possession of the officers, having been taken from me when I was apprehended.

her an order for vegetables and fruit, and produced her book, wherein the order was entered, to prove that she was correct as to the date.

Mrs. ELIZA GEORGE, the lady who has for years conducted the business of Mr. Birch, the confectioner in Cornhill, deposed that on the 18th of March she received an order from me in person, for some pastry, and produced the book, in which the order appeared, in her own hand-writing.

Mrs. ATKINSON, who keeps livery stables in Coleman Street, proved my giving her an order for a post-chaise, on the morning of the 21st of March, to go to Wickham the next day, and produced the book in which the order was entered.

This lady was so terrified at the harsh manner in which she was cross-examined, that she could scarcely articulate her answers, and at length burst into a flood of tears. Yet at this time the prosecutors *well knew*, she was stating nothing but the truth: for having learnt that on Sunday the 22d, I went to visit a niece I had brought up from her infancy, and who was married to an honest industrious young man at Wickham, they hired a chaise of Mrs. Atkinson, desired to have the same boy who had driven me, ordered him to go to the same place, and upon their arrival at my niece's residence, minutely searched it; but found nothing to justify their suspicions.

THOMAS FIELDING, a post-boy in the service of the last witness, proved that on the morning of the 22d of March, he drove me, my wife, and sister, to Wickham, and brought us back on the evening of the same day.

Mr. BENJAMIN BISHOP, attorney at law, attended to prove, if necessary, that he saw and conversed with me in London on the 20th of March, but he was not examined.

It could also have been proved that I was in London on the 18th of March, by Mr. and Mrs. Myers who keep a fish-monger's shop in Saint Michael's Alley, Cornhill; on the morning of that day I ordered some fish, and at the same time paid Mrs. Myers a small bill I owed, a memorandum of which payment she entered in her book. She had shown my solicitor this book in which the date was entered, stated that she could safely swear to the circumstance, and expressed her readiness to do so. But notwithstanding many urgent entreaties by my solicitor and by several of my friends to her husband, he would not permit her to come forward, although he had promised my solicitor and the city marshal, that she should. When the time of her attendance however arrived, he revoked his promise, alleging, as an excuse, that she was pregnant and it might alarm her, besides which, it might occasion him ill will among his customers.* Thus was I deprived of this additional proof of my innocence. The prosecutors were told of the circumstance, and might easily have satisfied themselves of its truth. Indeed

* I have reason to believe some *secret influence* was used with this uncharitable Jew; for so far from his wife appearing agitated or alarmed she expressed her wish to attend with the book and prove the correctness of the entry, and very humanely endeavoured to persuade her husband to permit her to accompany my solicitor; but he was obdurate, and no intreaties could induce him to alter his determination.

many other particulars were mentioned to convince them of my innocence : but they appeared determined to shut their minds against conviction, and resolutely bent upon my destruction.

My enemies did not confine themselves to open and avowed acts of hostility to effect their malignant purpose, but resorted to the most disgraceful underhand proceedings. Endeavours were made to deter my witnesses from coming forward : they were told it was entirely optional with themselves whether they attended the magistrates or not : that if they did attend, they must acknowledge a connection with me, which would inevitably entail disgrace upon them ; and that they could easily avoid this by declining to appear. A young man named Miller, then an under-clerk at Bow Street office, and son to the police officer, went personally to Mr. Grimaldi, to persuade him not to come to the office, insinuating that he had no object in interfering but a regard for Mr. Grimaldi, and the interest he felt for his reputation. Mr. Grimaldi was not, however, to be intimidated from asserting that which he knew to be truth, when the life of a fellow creature was at stake ; and, contrary to this stripling's expectations and wishes, readily attended before the magistrates and gave evidence of the facts I have before stated. This young man Miller will hereafter appear more actively and dangerously employed against me, the particulars of which will be in due time related.

The evidence, which I had produced, appeared to convince every unprejudiced individual who heard it, of my innocence : indeed it made such an

impression even upon the magistrates, that they agreed to liberate me on my own recognizance in five hundred pounds, and four sureties in two hundred and fifty pounds each, which was not termed excessive. This, however, I agreed to procure, and notice was accordingly served on Mr. Humphreys.

On the 27th of April I was again brought up, as I supposed, to be bailed ; instead of which three more persons were produced to look at me. Two of them said they knew nothing of me ; the third, a Mr. Chamberlain, who keeps the White Hart Inn, in Uttoxeter, deposed as follows :
 “ That two persons, one of whom he believed to
 “ be the prisoner, John Mackcoull, came to his
 “ house in a post-chaise about seven o’clock in the
 “ evening of the 15th of March last ; the chaise
 “ they came in was a Burton chaise ; they ordered a
 “ chaise as soon as they came into Litchfield, which
 “ appeared strange to informant, as the direct road
 “ from Burton to Litchfield is much nearer than
 “ going by Uttoxeter, which informant thought was
 “ nineteen miles round. The man whom informant
 “ believed to be the prisoner, asked informant
 “ the way to the post office, which informant told
 “ him, and he went out and soon returned ; and
 “ then they countermanded the chaise, and staid
 “ all night, and set off about eleven o’clock in
 “ the forenoon on the 18th, and went to Stone.
 “ They said they wished to go to Newcastle from
 “ Uttoxeter, because it was the nearest way to
 “ Congleton, which they had inquired of informant’s
 “ ostler ; but upon being told it was a bad
 “ road, to go from Uttoxeter to Newcastle, they
 “ agreed to go to Stone, where informant’s chaise

“went with them, informant having several opportunities of seeing the men, and he verily believed the prisoner was one of them.”

During the time Chamberlain was giving his deposition, he never once turned to look at me. Conceiving it strange that while he was giving his testimony, he should stand with his back towards me, more especially as he was come many miles for the purpose of identifying me, I requested him to turn round and look at my person, converse with me, and be satisfied before he swore his deposition that what he was saying was true. Mr. Kensington, who stood by his side, desired him not to mind me, and to give me no answer; with this request he implicitly complied.

I will here state a circumstance, which, though extraordinary, is nevertheless true: that had Mr. Humphreys, the solicitor for the prosecutions against me, kept memorandums of the persons who called upon him, and would have condescended to refer to them, he could unequivocally have proved my innocence; for on the 15th and 16th days of March I saw and consulted with him at his own chambers, and on the 19th I called there, and saw his brother. Upon referring to my Diary and making this discovery, I was elated with joy, very naturally concluding that upon being reminded of the circumstance, he would instantly recollect it, and satisfy the minds of the magistrates and prosecutors, that I was wrongfully accused, and the whole business must terminate in my instant discharge. But what was my surprise and astonishment, when, upon my stating the fact at the examination, and appealing to him to con-

firm it, I received this answer! "Mr. Mackcoull, "if you press this question, I will be put to "my oath : you will force me to have a bad opinion of you whether I will or not ; at the time "you mention I was at the assizes on the *home circuit*." Thunder-struck, as it were, with this answer, I could not for some moments recover from my consternation, as it really made me appear like a guilty man endeavouring to screen himself from punishment by false assertions. But Mr. Stafford, the chief clerk, soon satisfied Mr. Humphreys that he was mistaken, by asking him if he was at Horsham Assizes. Mr. Humphreys said he was not. Mr. Humphreys then was not on the *home circuit* on the 16th of March : for on that day the assizes were held at Horsham. Therefore his conclusion, that he had not seen me at chambers, because he was absent on the circuit, was unfounded. When I called at Mr. Humphreys's chambers on the 19th, I was told, he was at Kingston assizes, which began the day before ; and he, no doubt, in his hurry to answer my question, confounded the 16th for the 18th of March. But it was a sad mistake for me, and at least he should not have answered so hastily, and accuse me of falsehood, when it clearly appeared that *he*, not I, was mistaken. The fact, however, did not rest upon my assertion ; for Mrs. Mackcoull's sister was with me on the 15th, when I called, and waited with Mrs. Mackcoull without, during the time I was with Mr. Humphreys.

It will not, I trust, be deemed an irrelevant digression to state the business, which took me to Mr. Humphreys on the days I have mentioned,

as it shows other instances of the persecuting spirit with which I was attacked by the Bow Street *officers of justice*. One evening, returning from the west end of the town, in company with my wife, we passed through the neighbourhood of the theatres. I had for many years abstained from visiting them, even to avoid a possibility of suspicion or ill-natured observation: but as my wife expressed a wish to see the performance, I acquiesced, and we went to the pit door, and inquired of the money-taker whether there was any room; he said there was only standing room, and we were going away. But no sooner had we got into Bow Street, than we were suddenly assailed by Lime-rick, one of the officers, with a torrent of abuse. I asked him why he behaved so. His only reply was, "*Damn my eyes, we will try it on with you.*" What was the meaning of this expression, I cannot explain: I never offended the man in my life; and there could be no reason whatever for his conduct. The performance had commenced some time, and there was no crowd or collection of people, nor any one circumstance that could lead him to suppose I was there for any improper purpose. Anxious, however, to avoid unnecessary altercation, I gave him no answer, but went home, determined in my own mind to apply to the magistrates to know why I was thus to be insulted every time I met any of their officers. However, I afterwards declined troubling them upon the subject, reflecting that their time was occupied in more important affairs, than settling differences between me and their officers, and that I should perhaps only meet with a rebuff in-

stead of redress. Nor is it probable I should have mentioned the circumstance, had I not some time afterwards received orders from a theatrical friend, when I made up my mind to go to the theatre with them; but considering the insults I was liable to meet with, I previously wrote the following note to the sitting magistrates at the office.

“Gentlemen,

“I beg leave to inform you, that I am, with my wife gone to the theatre, Covent Garden. I take this step in order to prevent any ill-founded malicious construction. Trusting that I am within the pale of safety, and that my conduct will ever insure me the protection of the magistracy, I remain, Gentlemen, with all due respect,

“Your most obedient, very humble servant,

“JOHN MACKCOULL.”

A few days afterwards the following comment was made on the note in the public newspapers.

“While Sir William Parsons was sitting in Bow Street on Tuesday evening, he received the following epistle from a notorious character, who has long been celebrated for his dexterity and skill in conveying watches and money from one pocket into another. The letter and orthography are literally copied from the original. Donaldson therefore treated the apologist with proper attention, and Mackcoull returned with his cara sposa, without attempting to mill a wipe, queer a stilt, or draw a tatler.”

This elegant composition, so highly creditable

to its author, found its way into many of the diurnal prints, and I was asked by several of my friends, why I suffered such an illiberal attack without resenting it. I was assured that Sir William Parsons would not sanction such a proceeding, and that some person in the office must have purloined my note, and employed a news reporter to make this shameful comment to gratify his spleen against me. I was therefore advised to apply to my attorney to investigate the business, and obtain, if possible, some explanation. It was for this purpose I went, on the 15th of March, to Mr. Humphreys, and, having told him the purport of my visit, he said that he had observed the insertion in the newspapers, and had one of them in his office, which he brought to show me; expressing considerable indignation that I should be thus treated. He informed me that he should be at the office next day, and would make the necessary inquiries, and desired me to call on him after his return home, when he would tell me the result. I accordingly waited on him about four or five o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th, when he said, the magistrates were particularly engaged, and he could not therefore mention my business, but would take the earliest opportunity, and desired me to call upon him some other time. I therefore again, on the 19th of March, went to his chambers, and learnt that he was then at Kingston assizes. I called several times afterwards, and at last he informed me that the magistrates knew nothing of the affair, and they supposed it was inserted by some of the newspaper reporters who attended the office. After a transaction of this nature, and so recent,

it will not, I presume, appear extraordinary that I should have conceived Mr. Humphreys would have recollected the exact time ; and by stating the fact it would have been clear beyond all contradiction, that I was not at Chamberlain's on the 17th of March.

But to return to my examination :

After the deposition given by Chamberlain, the prosecutors informed the magistrates, that they had no further evidence to offer ; upon which Mr. Alley, my counsel, urged, that I ought to be entirely dismissed from the charges, observing that the witnesses for the prosecution spoke with the utmost diffidence as to *their belief* of my being the person who negotiated the bills in the country ; whereas those who had been examined on my behalf *decidedly proved* that I was in London when the offences were committed ; therefore, even admitting that the prosecutor's witnesses had spoken to my person with confidence, the evidence I had produced must convince them they were mistaken. The magistrates answered that it was not for them to decide, that they should send the case to a jury. Mr. Alley replied that, if this was their determination, the defendant must certainly give bail, and that they were then ready in attendance in the office. But I cannot express the astonishment and regret I felt when even this was refused ; though not only the magistrates had agreed that I should be admitted to bail, but the sum had been fixed, and notice served of the persons who were to become my sureties. I was now fully committed to Newgate to take my trial at the then next as-

sizes, for stealing the parcel from the mail coach; and for forging and uttering four bills of exchange. Thus there were five distinct charges against me, alledged to have been committed in the counties of Derby, Stafford, and Cheshire.

Previous to my commitment to Newgate several of the daily papers reported the different examinations I had undergone, embellishing their statements with a slang diction peculiar to thieves. The witnesses were stated to have sworn positively to my person, and in order that the report might have proper effect, I was termed the *noted*, and the *notorious Jack Mackcoull*. For this abuse also I was no doubt indebted to the officers, as there are some miscreants who call themselves judicial reporters, despicable enough to lend themselves to the purposes of some of the officers of police. If the latter mark out a victim, these hiring defamers are employed to extol their merits, the ingenuity they practise in the pursuit, and the certainty with which they fix upon the real offender; while the devoted object is held up to public detestation, his faults not only exposed, but exaggerated almost beyond credibility, and offences attributed to him of which he never heard. Thus he is pointed out to mankind as meriting the severest punishment the law can inflict, and he dies unpitied and unlamented. The policy of employing these auxiliaries must be evident, particularly in cases where the witnesses are at all doubtful; as it confirms them that the representations made by the officers are correct—that the accused is a desperate fellow—dangerous to society—and ought to be hanged—their minds imperceptibly receive the wished for impression, that the accu-

sed *must* be the offender; and those, who were at first doubtful afterwards swear with absolute certainty. Thus it was in my case. The witnesses were prejudiced against me by the representations of the officers before they saw me. They were told the whole story of my being the purchaser of the bill stolen from Mr. Spears; that I had afterwards negotiated it under the assumed name of *Warren*; that my identity was clearly proved by Chadwick, and would have been also confirmed by Mr. Priestman had not my wife and sister met him in his way to London, and submitted to prostitute themselves to induce him to swear falsely.

The reader will scarcely believe that any mind could be so abominably wicked as to invent this gross and diabolical story. But it shows the extreme depravity of some of these pretended officers of justice, and the lengths they will go to attain their object. The fact is, neither my wife nor sister saw Mr. Priestman until my examination *was over*: when the former with tears in her eyes returned him thanks for relieving her mind from the anxiety she had suffered during my imprisonment. The answer he gave was manly and ingenuous. "My good woman," said he, "you have nothing to thank me for. I have done nothing more than my duty. Had your husband been the man, I should certainly have sworn to him without hesitation."

The witnesses were also told that I was so bad a man that I dared not go to the Theatre without first writing to the magistrates, and my before mentioned letter was produced to prove their

assertion. Thus their minds were prepossessed against me, and when I was pointed out to them, they could not divest themselves of the prejudice they had imbibed, and though the similitude between me and the offender was not sufficient to induce them to swear to me, the positive assertion of the officers, that *they knew* I was the man, and that I had *disguised* myself when committing the offences inclined them to suspect me : arrived at this point they were importuned and goaded to swear they believed me to be the man. The newspaper abuse then commenced, my guilt was now said to be manifest, and I was traduced in the most shameful manner : this no doubt convinced the witnesses that the officers were right. For country people generally imagine that the newspapers dare not insert any thing which is untrue. Thus all qualms of conscience were removed, and they at length brought their minds to swear to me without hesitation. Nor were these alone thus prejudiced : the poison was disseminated through the different counties to which I was consigned; those who were likely to serve as jurymen heard the slander, and every one was anxious to see so daring and incorrigible an offender. In short, I was the subject of general conversation, and each county was emulous to have the credit of bringing me to justice.

It too frequently happens, that persons irritated at the recent loss of their property are easily misled ; suspecting those to be the criminals, against whom the slightest appearances can be raised. The officers well know how to excite suspicions, or to create those appearances ; and having work-

ed up the mind of the prosecutor or witnesses to a persuasion of the devoted object being the culprit, these give their testimony with more zeal than caution, and frequently exceed the truth, or resort to unjustifiable methods to insure conviction. If at length they discover the imposition practised on them, they are ashamed of acknowledging their mistake, and rather than risk being reproached for their credulity or ignorance, they obstinately persevere in their former assertions, and regardless of the consequences, often prosecute with the most vindictive acrimony. Thus strongly do prejudice and feeling influence even those, who would startle at the possibility of perjury or murder being the consequence of their mistake; sheltering themselves perhaps under the idea, that the magistrates, who are respectable and shrewd men, and more acquainted with evidence than themselves, were convinced the accused was guilty and ought to be hanged; and having hastily and inconsiderately sworn, they immediately persuade themselves to believe what they have sworn to be true, and knowing the exertions frequently made to shake men's belief, even in the evidence of their senses, to save the life of a worthless delinquent, they at last convince themselves that by correcting their testimony they would not only incur censure but injure the public. By these reasonings they suppress the emotions of conscience, and ultimately adhere with increased pertinacity to their former assertions, rather than waver or swerve from them.

The officers having succeeded in their object,

and rendered the prosecutors and witnesses subservient to their purpose, by exacting the payment not only of heavy bills for their expenses, but of the rewards which themselves had persuaded them to offer, exult at the success of their plans ; and whatever be the consequence, are not at a loss to exonerate themselves from blame; their instrumentality being kept in the back ground, and known only to the prosecutor and the witnesses. They are also well aware, that these will not acknowledge themselves to have stated a falsehood or acted unjustly through the representations of others. Besides they always justify their apprehending the accused, by asserting that he has been already tainted by improper conduct, that they supposed him to be the offender, and therefore risked his being sworn to. " We," say they, " did not swear to him, we only spoke as to his apprehension. Therefore it must appear to the public in general, that we are blameless. For all on our parts was fair and honourable. If he was hanged innocent, it rests with the prosecutors, not with us ; and at all events the public sustain no great loss in his death."

In the severe observations I have felt myself compelled to offer respecting police officers, I beg it may not be understood, that I mean to include all of them without exception. God forbid that I should implicate the whole of that useful and necessary class of men, because a few of them are depraved and wicked. So far from this, I with pleasure acknowledge, that there are many among them, who feel equal anxiety to vindicate the innocent as to bring the guilty to justice. Had

such men apprehended me, they would have done that which it was the duty of Anthony and Adkins to have done ; namely, advised the prosecutors to act with caution ; as they well knew I did not mix with improper characters, that no part of my conduct was of a suspicious nature, and it was therefore very unlikely I should be either the receiver or negociator of stolen bills.

Surely my prosecutors and their witnesses must in the first instance have been duped by the artifices I have above pointed out. They too readily formed their opinion from the misrepresentations of my enemies, and, having acted with more than ordinary severity, and asserted to all their acquaintance that I was the offender, they no doubt felt, that it would lessen their consequence, or be too great a degradation, to acknowledge their error, and therefore determined to proceed to the utmost extremity against me ; wishing rather, that I should be sacrificed, *though innocent*, than that their judgment or veracity should be questioned. For the proofs I have already adduced, were I think sufficient to satisfy any reasonable and intelligent man. But when the reader learns, that they were made acquainted with the facts which will be presently related, he will I trust be convinced, allowing them every excuse as being the most obstinate of mankind, that the prosecutors could not doubt my innocence. But instead of retracting, every circumstance I furnished to prove that I was not the offender, only served to increase their zeal against me.

Shortly after my commitment a report was very

prévalent among the officers, that if I had submitted to the treatment I received, with meekness and without complaining, I should not have been ultimately sent for trial ; and it is not improbable, there was some foundation for this report, for although no man could conduct himself with more decency and respect to the magistrates than I did, I certainly felt and expressed indignation at the treatment I experienced from the officers. Their apprehending me out of their jurisdiction without any warrant, neglecting to take me, as they should have done, before the lord mayor, their taunting and abusive language to me and my family while searching my house, and at the time they took me into custody ; the cruel threats used by Anthony, when only he and I were in the coach ; their handcuffing me at one time to a wretched man covered with vermin, at another to a diseased and filthy woman, and while thus ignominiously placed ridiculing and laughing at me : surely, when these circumstances are considered, it would not be expected, that an innocent man should have entirely suppressed his resentment. No one possessing the least spirit, could, as I conceive, have patiently borne such treatment ; and feeling, as I did, a consciousness of my own innocence, and that therefore the slightest imprisonment of my person was unjust, I could not tamely and silently submit to it. Under these strong impressions I uttered some severe though just animadversions upon those who thus treated me, threatening, that if there was law or justice in the land, I would certainly resort to it. That the officers therefore might be justified in appre-

hending me, and protected against the consequences of an action, it was necessary I should be committed for trial, and hence perhaps it was that such extraordinary pains were taken, to obtain evidence to identify me.

On my arrival at Newgate I was treated with every mark of humanity and kindness, as my case was known before my arrival there, and which is very remarkable, had been mentioned by some of the principal officers of Bow Street, who declared I was an ill-used man : but shrugging up their shoulders said it was Anthony and Adkins's business, and they could not interfere. I was however permitted to be on the state side of the prison, remain without fetters, and indeed every indulgence that could be granted to a man in my situation allowed me.

At the time I was taken from my house I laboured under a severe attack of my asthmatic complaint ; and, what with my illness, and the persecution I endured, my spirits were so depressed, that I felt regardless of life, and in paroxysms of despair, was several times almost tempted to end my existence rather than suffer a public ignominious death ; as I considered it impossible to withstand the phalanx of enemies by whom I was beset ; and I owe it perhaps to the kind attention of a fellow prisoner confined in the same room, who was unremitting in his endeavours to sooth my distress, that I did not commit the shocking crime of suicide.

I was frequently urged to apply for an Habeas Corpus in order to be brought up to be bailed. But I was apprehensive this would be unavailing,

and I was really afraid of my name being in any way publicly mentioned; knowing it would afford an opportunity to my enemies to abuse me in the newspapers. Besides, as I had but very little property, I could not reconcile it to my mind to expend it in what I considered useless endeavours to obtain my liberty, and leave my family destitute. I therefore for some time declined making the application.

In the mean while Mr. Humphreys was representing to all who knew me his surprise at my supineness; not only declaring that mine was a fit case to be bailed, and that he should not oppose it, but that he considered it impossible the prosecutors could expect a conviction, and that he meant to lay the whole of the case before them, and advise no further prosecution against me. These circumstances coming to my knowledge, not only from the information of my friends, but also of Mr. Harmer my solicitor, I felt it my duty to address the following letter to Mr. Humphreys.

“ Sir,

“ Mr. Harmer has informed me of your generous
 “ and humane intention of laying before the gentlemen who prosecute me, a statement of the
 “ whole of the case, with your remarks and opinion thereon, in order that they may judge of
 “ the propriety of pursuing the prosecution.
 “ Such honourable conduct demands my unfeigned and grateful thanks, which I solicit
 “ you to accept.

“ If there is any thing in my conduct that to

“ you or the injured gentlemen requires explanation, I will cheerfully submit myself to interrogation : and I am convinced that to every intelligent and unprejudiced mind I can satisfactorily demonstrate my innocence.

“ I have heard that some persons have insinuated, that, if I was not directly concerned in the transaction, I am intermediately ; this I most solemnly deny. I assure you I never even heard that such an offence was committed until the examination at Bow Street.

“ Another object I have been told is sought by my commitment, namely that from my knowledge of depraved characters it is supposed, that, if I was not actually concerned, I have the means of learning who were, and that rather than submit to the degradation and hazard of being myself tried, I will give the desired information. If this idea is acted upon, I beg leave through you to inform the prosecutors, that it is erroneous. If I had possessed the means of discovering the offenders, I would not have suffered the serious inconvenience and disgrace I have already, and am now enduring. To those who know me most intimately, I request you will apply for information as to my conduct, and the result to your mind and that of my prosecutors will be that I am not either directly or indirectly connected with depredators of any description. Nay I challenge even the most vindictive of my enemies to adduce a single instance for a series of years, in which I could even be suspected of criminality.

"The gentlemen who carry on the prosecution
 "have, I understand, been informed, that I pos-
 "sess considerable property, and have abundant
 "means of defending myself; and that I cannot
 "therefore be much injured by being sent for
 "trial; as, if I am innocent, the only inconve-
 "nience I shall sustain will be the expenses at-
 "tending the defence, which I can very well
 "afford. Unfortunately for me this is not the
 "case. It is true, a report has gone abroad, that
 "I was rich, and which I never took the trouble
 "to contradict. There is no foundation for such
 "reports; for God knows, if I am sent to the
 "Assizes, what I am to do. Indeed my only
 "hope is in a subscription from a number of gen-
 "tlemen, to whom I have made known my ex-
 "treme hard case. I therefore piteously and ear-
 "nestly beseech you to make every inquiry pre-
 "vious to laying the statement before the prose-
 "cutors; and, if the result is against me, prose-
 "cute me with all possible rigour, even to con-
 "demnation and execution.

"If on the contrary it should bring conviction
 "to your mind, as I am sure it must, that I am
 "innocent, I trust to your honor and humanity
 "as a man to advise the prosecution to be rescind-
 "ed or forborne, and this I am sure will be your
 "conduct, when I recollect your humane and
 "liberal declaration, that no consideration what-
 "ever should induce you to persevere against a
 "guiltless person, and that the course of justice
 "should not be polluted where you are concerned.

"I remain, worthy Sir, with all due respect and
 "attention,

"Your most obedient, disconsolate,

"Wretched humble Servant,

"JOHN MACKCOULL."

Determined that every act on my part should be open, candid, and without finesse, I sent copies of this letter to the magistrates at Bow Street and Mr. Edward Kensington the banker, who appeared solely to direct and superintend the prosecutions against me; but I received no answer, neither was any communication made to me of the determination of the prosecutors upon the statement laid, or said to be laid before them by Mr. Humphreys. But as this gentleman still repeated his assurances that he should not oppose my application for bail, and indeed personally told me so, when attending a fellow-prisoner confined on the same side of the prison with myself, I determined to apply to a judge for an Habeas Corpus, and I was now strongly urged to endeavour to gain my liberty; as, from some information given me, I felt a gleam of hope, that by following it up with my own individual exertion I might probably find out the real offender.

On obtaining copies of my commitments I found they did not contain the dates when the forgeries were committed, and anxious to be correct in the affidavits about to be made I was advised to apply to the magistrates at Bow Street for copies of the depositions taken against me, and therefore wrote letters to them, to the prosecutors, and to Mr. Humphreys for that purpose.

The only answer I received was from Mr. Stafford, the chief clerk at Bow Street, stating that the magistrates directed him to inform me, that my request could not be complied with, as the copies of informations were never allowed to any defendant or his solicitor in cases of felony.

The following is the affidavit upon which my application for a Habeas was made.

“JOHN MACKCOULL, late of White Lyon Court, Throgmorton Street.

JOHN BOLOGNA, one of the performers at Covent Garden Theatre.

LOUIS BOLOGNA, of the same.

JOHN NORMAN, jun. of Panton Square, Haymarket, performer.

JOSEPH GRIMALDI, of the Theatre Royal Covent Garden.

MARY GRIMALDI, his wife.

LETITIA HARROWAY, of Black Horse Court, Fleet Street, spinster.

ANN CARDEN, servant to the defendant.

ELIZABETH LIQUORISH, wife of John Liquorish, fellowship-porter.

ANN THOMAS, of Fleet Market, fruiterer and green-grocer.

WILLIAM HOPKINS, of Wardour Street, boot and shoe maker.

SUSANNAH STEWARTSON, of Spread Eagle Court, Threadneedle Street, green grocer.

ELIZA GEORGE, shop-woman to Mr. Alderman Birch, confectioner and pastry-cook, Cornhill.

SUSANNAH CLENCY, wife of William Clency of White Fryars, late servant to the defendant.

“Deponent John Mackcoul saith, that on the third day of April, one thousand, eight hundred and seven, one William Adkins, and Anthony constables belonging to Bow Street, came to the deponent's house and searched the same, but did not take any thing therefrom, excepting a pocket book with its contents, which was afterwards returned to the deponent. That Anthony and Adkins then took the deponent into custody and conveyed him to Bow Street, where he was examined before Sir William Parsons on suspicion of being concerned in divers felonies and forgeries. And deponent was committed to New Prison to be examined on the 8th of April then following. That deponent was re-examined on the said 8th of April before Sir William Parsons in the presence of fourteen or fifteen different persons, who it was said had received and discounted several of the bills of exchange alleged to have been stolen, uttered, and published with forged indorsements thereon by deponent, and who attended there for the purpose of identifying deponent; That when deponent was placed in the office at Bow Street aforesaid with about ten or twelve other persons, and upon Sir William Parsons requesting the persons so attending to look round the room and to point the man who had uttered the bills of exchange, the several persons said “*that they did not observe any person there, whom they could charge with that offence;*” or words to that effect; and Sir William Parsons then observed it was but justice to the accused to inform him, that no person then present knew any thing of him; notwithstanding which circumstance deponent was recommitted

for a further re-examination on Monday the 13th of April next following; but on Saturday the 11th of April deponent was brought before *J. Read, Esq.* and *A. Graham, Esq.* and examined before them at Bow Street, and recommitted by the said last-mentioned magistrates to be re-examined on the 18th of April following, and also on the following day; and the last-mentioned magistrates then agreed, that deponent should be admitted to bail on the next examination, which was appointed for the 23d of April next following, when this deponent was again brought up to be re-examined, and was again committed for re-examination on the 27th of April next following; deponent was accordingly re-examined on the 27th of April, when three other persons attended, *two* of whom after strictly viewing deponent *declared he was not the man, and that they never saw him before*; or words to that effect; but the third person (said to be Richard Chamberlain, an inn-keeper at Uttoxeter) declared he believed deponent was the person that was at his house on the 17th of March last and hired a chaise; whereupon deponent was fully committed by the said magistrates on five several commitments on suspicion of the felonies and forgeries therein mentioned; copies of which are hereunto annexed. That none of the said several warrants of commitments state any certain time when the said several offences were committed; but to the best of the deponent's recollection, from hearing the several informations read over, they were stated to have been committed on the 12, 17, 18, 19 and 20th days of March last at *Barton-upon-Trent, Uttoxeter* in the county of Stafford, Congle-

ton, in the county of Cheshire, and *Wirksworth*, in the county of Derby ; but on what day each particular offence was supposed to be committed, deponent is quite ignorant, and cannot therefore set forth.

“ That he never was at Burton-upon-Trent, or Uttoxeter in the county of Stafford, Congleton in the county of Cheshire, not Wirksworth in the county of Derby, to his knowledge or recollection in his life-time, neither was he on any of the said days out of London or its vicinity. And deponent can give a full, true and particular account of his time and situation on those said several days, and the several days immediately previous and subsequent thereto, and which deponent is enabled to do from his having for several years past kept a book wherein he has regularly inserted a daily account of himself.

“ That he had not either directly or indirectly any knowledge of, or concern in the said several offences laid to his charge or any of them, and was ignorant of such offences having been committed until he was charged on suspicion of having committed the same at the public office in Bow Street. That the deponents Joseph Grimaldi, Letitia Harroway, Eliza George, Susannah Stewartson, Ann Carden, Elizabeth Liquorish, and Ann Thomas, as well as many other respectable persons were examined upon oath by the said magistrates, who severally stated to the effect as herein before mentioned, which shews the innocence of deponent of the said several charges against him.

“ Deponent John Bologna saith, that on the 12th

day of March last, the above named John Mackcoul called at deponent's house in Broad Court, and that he saw and conversed with him in order to fix the hour of going to Woolwich on the next morning, which was accordingly fixed for seven o'clock. And it was agreed between this deponent and the said John Mackcoul, to meet at the house of the said John Mackcoul situate as aforesaid, and the next morning, being the 13th day of March last, this deponent called at his house between the hours of eight and nine in the morning, and this deponent and the said John Mackcoul went in company together to Woolwich, and then and there met other persons who were to be of the party.

"And these deponents Louis Bologna, John Norman, and Joseph Grimaldi, for themselves say that they met in company with the other deponents, and that John Mackcoul did not leave their company for the space of one whole hour during that day. That the deponents Louis Bologna and Joseph Grimaldi performed that evening the entertainment of Don Juan at the Theatre of Woolwich for the benefit of a Mr. Lund, and that the said John Mackcoul did not depart and leave the company until the next day at 2 o'clock. And the deponent Joseph Grimaldi, before they parted, agreed to dine with the said John Mackcoul at his house on the Wednesday following.

"The deponent John Mackcoul further saith, that on Sunday the 15th March last, he was at home most part of the day, and that Elizabeth, wife of John Marshall, of Bird Street, Wapping, pilot, dined with deponent at his house aforesaid,

and that her husband John Marshall came afterwards and supped in company with the deponent, and staid until a late hour, and then the said John Marshall and his wife departed. And on Monday the 16th March last, this deponent was for the most part of the day at home at his house aforesaid; that he paid one Mr. William Prime of Wallington in the county of Surry, brewer, who called upon him, £6. 16s. a debt due to him for beer, and the said Mr. William Prime gave deponent a receipt for the said sum, a copy of which receipt is hereunto annexed. And the deponent further saith, that he called at the chambers of Mr. Humphreys the solicitor for the prosecution situate in Bernard's Inn, and saw and conversed with the said Mr. Humphreys on the 15th and 16th days of March last. And this deponent's wife Mary Mackcoull, and the deponent Letitia Harroway, who had walked together with deponent there on the said 15th day of March last, stopt in the said Bernard's Inn until the deponent went into the chambers of the said Mr. Humphreys and returned to them.

“ And the deponent Letitia Harroway for herself saith, that on Saturday afternoon the 14th day of March last, and from thence until and on Sunday the 22d day of March last the deponent saw the said John Mackcoull every day, and on Wednesday the 18th day of March she dined at the house of the said John Mackcoull in company with him and his wife, and the deponent Joseph Grimaldi, and Mary Grimaldi. And deponent also dined with the said John Mackcoull and his wife and a Mrs. Burrige, at the house of the

said John Mackcoull on Friday the 20th of March.

“ The deponent Ann Carden for herself saith, that from Saturday the 14th of March last until Sunday the 22d of the same month, the said John Mackcoull dined and slept at home at his said house in White Lyon Court aforesaid.

“ Deponent Elizabeth Liquorish for herself saith, that on Monday the 16th day of March she called on her sister the said Ann Carden at the house of the said John Mackcoull, to request the said Ann Carden to go to the play with her that evening ; and deponent and the said Ann Carden went to the play accordingly, and it being rainy, deponent staid all night, and also the whole of the next day Tuesday, and assisted the said Ann Carden to wash. That this deponent saw the said John Mackcoull both before going to and also on her return from the theatre, and during the whole of the said Tuesday the said John Mackcoull never left home. And on Thursday the 19th day of March last she saw the said John Mackcoull at Mrs. Harroway’s in Black Horse Court, Fleet Street.

“ And this deponent William Hopkins for himself saith, that on Tuesday the 17th and on Wednesday the 18th of March last, he saw the deponent John Mackcoull at his house in White Lyon Court aforesaid ; that he is quite certain as to the days, not only from his recollection, but also from reference to an entry made by deponent in his book of some articles sold and delivered by this deponent personally to the said John Mackcoull.

" And this deponent Ann Thomas for herself saith that on Tuesday the 17th of March she saw the said John Mackcoull at his house in White Lyon Court aforesaid in the afternoon and until nine o'clock at night. And deponent is quite sure as to the date, as her mother at that time was lying dead. And this deponent on that day borrowed £3 from the said John Mackcoull to enable her to pay some expences attending her mother's funeral.

" And these deponents Joseph Grimaldi and Mary Grimaldi severally say, that on Wednesday the 18th of March they dined with the above mentioned John Mackcoull at his house, and that the deponent Letitia Harroway dined there also, and among other things at table there was a cheesecake pudding and some mince pies. And the deponent Mary Grimaldi saith, that she left Mr. Mackcoull's house about five o'clock in the evening to attend as one of the performers in the Oratorio, leaving her husband in company with the said John Mackcoull. And deponent Joseph Grimaldi saith that he continued in company with the said John Mackcoull until near eleven o'clock the same evening. And deponent is quite certain as to the day, and mentioned the same immediately on being asked the question " what day it was, deponents dined with the said John Mackcoull;" which question was put and answer made before deponents were aware that the circumstance could be material on behalf of the said John Mackcoull.*

* Mr. Harmer waited on Mr. and Mrs. Grimaldi, told them he particularly desired to know the day on which they dined with Mr. Mackcoull, and wished the time to be accurately ascer-

“ The deponent Eliza George for herself saith, that on the said 18th day of March last she received an order at the shop of Mr. Birch in Cornhill for some mince pies and a cheesecake pudding to be sent to Mr. Mackcoull's house in White Lyon Court aforesaid, and which was sent there accordingly; that to the best of her recollection and belief such orders were given by the said Mr. Mackcoull himself, and that the order given was entered into the day-book of the said Mr. Birch and produced by this deponent before the magistrates at Bow Street.

“ Deponent Susannah Stewartson for herself saith, that on the said 18th of March last the said John Mackcoull called at her shop in Spread Eagle Court, and gave deponent an order for some vegetables and fruit to be sent to his said house in White Lyon Court aforesaid; and deponent is positive as to the day from the said order having been entered in the day-book of deponent at that time, which deponent produced before the magistrates at Bow Street before deponent was aware the same was material on the behalf of the said John Mackcoull.

“ Susannah Clency saith, that on Wednesday the 18th of March last the deponent was in London, that she saw him in company with his wife, and that she is quite certain as to the day from her having been on that very evening discharged from his service.

“ John Mackcoull lastly saith, that he has been

tained by themselves. They immediately referred to circumstances, and mentioned with certainty that it was the 18th of March, and it was not until they had so done that he mentioned my situation;

informed, and verily believes it to be true, that the said Mr. Humphreys, the solicitor for the several prosecutions against this deponent, hath since this deponent was committed to Newgate expressed several times his surprise that this deponent's solicitor Mr. Harmer did not apply to one of the Judges of this Honourable Court for an Habeas Corpus in order that this deponent might be admitted to bail, and that he should not oppose the same, or used words to that effect."

This affidavit was sworn and laid before Sir Soulden Lawrence, Knt. one of the justices of the court of King's Bench, and Mr. Humphreys, being apprised of the proceedings, attended with copies of the depositions, so that the learned judge was in full possession of the case, both for and against me; and very humanely not only granted the Habeas Corpus, but reprobated in severe and indignant terms the mode of proceeding that had been adopted.

As the Habeas Corpus was allowed only the day before term, it was necessary for me to be taken to Westminster, that the court might determine upon the propriety of admitting me to bail. Notice was accordingly given to Mr. Humphreys and to the committing magistrate, with the names and addresses of the persons who would offer themselves as sureties. The inexorable disposition of my enemies now manifested itself once more in the most shameful manner. Anonymous letters were written to my bail; to some of them the writer stated, that he knew it was my intention to abscond immediately on obtaining my liberty; to others, that they would lose their character if they ventured to appear in court, and that

their names would be printed in the newspapers as the friends and associates of the most notorious of depredators.* Upon some of my friends these letters had their desired effect. They were so much intimidated as to decline bailing me, and it was not until I had been four times taken to Westminster Hall at a very considerable expense, that I could procure four persons to go before the court.

Having met with so many disappointments in consequence of these anonymous letters, I determined to state the particulars to the court, shewing the underhand means that were used to prevent my bail from attending. The letters were accordingly delivered into the hands of my counsel; but one of my bail, who had refused, considering the anonymous writer must be actuated by malicious and dishonourable motives, altered his mind, and came down to Westminster Hall to bail me.

Mr. Humphreys having promised not to oppose the bail, of course no opposition was expected. In this however I was deceived, for Mr. Phelps, a barrister, and as I am informed an intimate friend of Mr. Kensington, opposed it most strenuously. He stated, that even before I was apprehended and spoken to by the witnesses, the prosecutors were very well satisfied upon the subject, that immediately on their discovering the name of Warren upon the bills their attention was directed to me, and that the result confirmed their suspicions. The learned counsel no doubt alluded to the forgery committed at Richmond in York-

* These anonymous letters must have been written by some of the persons employed at Bow Street. For no one could learn who were to become my bail except from the notices, and those were only served at that office and on Mr. Humphreys.

shire, and his observation was intended to induce a belief, that I was guilty of that offence, and must consequently be so of the present. From whom the learned gentleman received his instructions to make this insinuation I cannot guess; surely not from Mr. Humphreys; he was my solicitor on the former occasion; he knew that I was innocent: he had not only upon every occasion declared so, but expressed his indignation against those who asserted the contrary. One of the newspapers of the day, in stating the examination, had appeared to question the veracity of my witnesses, and Mr. Humphreys in his zeal for my vindication had advised a case to be laid before counsel for an opinion as to the propriety of commencing an action or prosecution against the editors. This case, in Mr. Humphreys's own hand-writing, is still in my possession. Considering these circumstances, I cannot for a moment believe, that he could have impressed upon the minds of either the prosecutor or their counsel that I was guilty of the offence at Richmond, or could have instructed Mr. Phelps to make such an allusion. Among other equally ingenious observations the learned gentleman suggested, that the deponents in my affidavit might be literally swearing what was true; as the name *John Mackcoull* might be written down for them to look at during my absence, in order that they might swear they saw John Mackcoull in London: but how he could bring this observation to apply, I think the reader as well as myself will be at a loss to perceive. If there are more than two persons making an affidavit, and either of them have

occasion to mention the other, the name must be stated, to distinguish which is meant : therefore, when the deponents allude to me, my name is necessarily mentioned. But do they not always state that they saw, &c. *the deponent John Mackcoull, or the said John Mackcoull* ? Can anyone then for a moment assert or believe, but that my person and not merely my name is sworn to ? and could the deponents, if they had not actually seen me in person, either legally or morally exonerate themselves from the most palpable and foul perjury ? A great deal more might certainly be said, but really the proposition appears so absolutely frivolous, that it can only receive importance by an answer; I shall therefore quit the subject, at the same time confessing myself incompetent to conceive or describe, how a written name could be conversed with, could go to different places and give orders, &c. &c. a riddle, the unravelling of which I must leave to the ingenuity of the learned gentleman who invented it.

After counsel had been fully heard, and the case stated on both sides to the court, the judges unanimously agreed, that mine was a fit case to be bailed. The laws of this country, thank God ! recognize no distinction of persons ; all have an equal right to receive their protection, whether suffering under the opprobrium of public opinion, or revelling in riches, luxury, and ostentation. In the superior courts of judicature no whispering insinuations can be heard to thwart the course of justice. There the *case* is looked at, and not the *man*. This was now fully exemplified ; the protecting arm of the law shielded the unfortunate,

degraded, and vilified John Mackcoull from the tyrannical and oppressive measures of his rich and powerful adversaries ; the cause of truth and justice prevailed ; and I once again obtained my liberty.

The opinion entertained by the judges of the court of King's Bench on my case cannot be better evinced, than by stating the amount of the recognizance they directed to be taken, which was only in the sum of £50 from each bail for each of the three different counties in which the offences were committed. This clearly shows I was not considered by them as the offender ; for I am informed that an instance can scarcely be found of a man charged with a common felony being admitted to bail by that honourable court upon such trifling recognizances ; whereas I was accused with no less than *five* offences, *four* of them capital, and a conviction upon either would have involved the forfeiture of my life.

I cannot but consider, that I owe my preservation in a great measure to the discrimination and humanity of the judges ; for, had they not believed me innocent, I must have remained in confinement, and the real offender would probably not have been discovered. I should consequently have been deprived of one strong feature in my defence ; as I not only proved *my innocence* but pointed out *who was guilty* ; as I trust will be hereafter satisfactorily demonstrated to the reader.

And here I must not omit paying a tribute of gratitude to Mr. Newman the keeper of Newgate : an acknowledgment to which he is so justly entitled for the civility and indulgence I received at his

hands. For these favours I beg that gentleman to accept my humble yet grateful thanks. Neither can I forbear contrasting the treatment I experienced, when brought to and from Westminster by Mr. Newman's servants, with that I received from the officers of Bow Street. It will be recollected that, when taken to prison after my examinations, I was fettered and manacled to diseased and filthy persons, and reviled in the most shameful and cruel manner. But when under the care of Mr. Newman's servants I was not ironed, and they permitted me to walk alone, they following at a small distance, so that no one could even imagine I was in custody.

After the strong facts I had adduced to prove my innocence, and the ingenuous manner in which I had throughout conducted myself, it was but reasonable to expect that the prosecutors would have somewhat lessened their rigour toward me. The open and candid manner in which I had led them to a knowledge of my defence and of the witnesses to support it, ought to have convinced them it was not fabricated. For, those who are accustomed to the practice in the criminal courts well know, that men, who are wicked enough to attempt evading punishment for a crime they have really committed, by procuring perjured witnesses to establish an *alibi*, keep their defence a perfect secret from the prosecutors, who remain equally ignorant who are to be the witnesses, and what facts are to be proved, until the moment the witnesses appear in the box to give evidence. The prosecutors are therefore unable to investigate the character of the witnesses, or inquire the truth

or falsehood of the testimony they are about to give: and are completely taken by surprise. The whole of my proceedings were the reverse of this. The prosecutors were told, what would be my defence, who were my witnesses, and the circumstances to be proved by each of them. Several were produced before the magistrates, so that an opportunity was afforded of interrogating them and thereby sifting their evidence, and trying its consistency. Notwithstanding this openness on my part, notwithstanding my repeated offers to render them every assistance in their pursuit of the depredators, if they would give me any clue by which these might be discovered, all my overtures were rejected with disdain, the prosecutors remained inexorably dumb, their proceedings were wrapt in mystery, and they shunned that investigation, which I, and I alone, assiduously, courted.

My solicitor was told by Mr. Humphreys, that, as the prosecutors were determined to proceed, he should advise them to try the Stafford forgeries only, as they were the strongest cases; and that my recognizances at Derby and Chester should be discharged; observing, that by this mode the interest of the prosecutors as well as mine would be consulted. This was certainly true; as, in the event of my being tried and acquitted at Derby, both parties would still have to take their witnesses on to Stafford at an enormous expense. I was therefore pleased to receive this intimation; for my finances were so low, that I doubted my ability to pay the expenses of my witnesses to and

from even one of the distant places to which I was consigned for trial.

I was not a little surprised soon after to learn, that Mr. Humphreys had given up his concern in the prosecution. At the moment I attributed this conduct to his recollecting that I was at his chambers on the days I had mentioned, and hoped that being himself convinced of my innocence he would satisfy the prosecutors also. But I was deceived in my expectations, at least so far as respected the prosecutions being discontinued; for to my mortification I found that they were to be proceeded in with more acrimony than ever; the prosecutors being very liberal in condemning the indulgent measures, as they called them, of Mr. Humphreys, and saying that, had any other attorney been employed, I should not have been bailed.

If the information I have received is correct, the cause which induced Mr. Humphreys to decline the conduct of the prosecution, was equally honourable to him and discreditable to his employers. They suggested measures which he in the fair and correct discharge of his professional duty considered unjust and disgraceful. He therefore determined rather to give up the prosecution than adopt unfair and sinister means of obtaining a conviction.

The prosecutors were now without a solicitor. Was their attention directed to find one more or less scrupulous, one more or less incumbered with qualms of conscience, one more or less unconcerned, whether the object prosecuted were innocent or guilty, and indifferent about the means, so that

the end were successful? Their choice fell upon Mr. James Chetham of Falcon Square: the reader must determine; hereafter whether this gentleman did credit to the selection.*

Anxious that no step should be left untried to convince the prosecutors of my innocence, I determined to seek a personal interview with Mr. Kensington, and also with his attorneys Messrs. Willis of Warnford-court, Throgmorton-street; and learning that the foundation of their suspicions against me was the forgery at Richmond, I solicited Mr. Holdsworth to accompany me, conceiving that he could himself exculpate me from that charge, as he knew I was in London when it was committed. Mr. Holdsworth said he was willing to serve me as far as lay in his power, but observed, I was so dreadfully beset, that he was afraid his interference would be of no avail. "Your enemies," said he, "will never rest until they deprive you of life. I never knew a man against whom prejudice was so strongly formed. I have endeavoured at all times to defend you, from a consciousness that your conduct deserved it; but I have been so repeatedly insulted, that latterly I have been silent in hopes that at some future time the prejudice against you would abate, and the world would then be convinced that you are "more sinned against than sinning." He was sa-

* I do not allude to the elder Mr. Chetham, he, as far as I understand, was always considered a very able and respectable practitioner. I believe he some time since retired from business, and was succeeded by his son James. "Oh what a falling off was there!"

tified I was an ill-used man ; he knew I was innocent of the first charge, from the evidence of his own senses, and he had no doubt I was also innocent of the present, as he had inquired in my neighbourhood, and been told by many persons, that they had seen me almost every day during the month of March, and that they were sure I never was absent a week in that month : he had besides made many other inquiries which were equally satisfactory ; but notwithstanding his own mind was convinced, yet he was apprehensive that the prosecutors were so prepossessed against me, as to render any attempt at explanation unavailing." I thanked him for his good opinion, and entreated him to go with me to Messrs. Willis's, as I felt a gleam of hope, that by his stating what he knew of my innocence of the first charge, and my readiness to answer all interrogatories, the prejudice against me might in some degree be removed ; and he at length consented to accompany me.

When we were introduced to Mr. Willis, Mr. Holdsworth informed him, the purport of our visit was to request his humane interference with Mr. Kensington ; and began a representation of the persecution I had experienced : but he was frequently interrupted by Mr. Willis, who had in the first instance behaved with great haughtiness and now treated the Marshal with marked contempt. He told him, that his conduct as City Marshal was exceedingly reprehensible ; that he had thrown every obstacle in the way to impede the course of justice : that he had prevented the officers of Bow Street from acting with that

promptitude and energy which the nature of the offence required ; and that it was his duty to have assisted rather than insult them, and cause a riot. Mr. Holdsworth seemed indignant at this accusation, asked who was his informer, and how he durst take the liberty to censure him ?

Mr. Willis answered, that so satisfied was Mr. Kensington of the truth of the complaint the Bow Street officers had made, that it was in contemplation to lay the whole proceedings before the court of Common Council. The Marshal observed, that he had from motives of compassion and humanity waited on him to explain the errors Mr. Kensington had fallen into, in hopes that he would retract them and not take away the life of an innocent man ; but it appeared that the same prejudice had affected *him*, and he was sorry to find that men of such high respectability should be led away in the manner they were ; that he was not disposed to enter into personalities, and cautioned Mr. Willis to be guarded in his expressions, as he would not suffer himself to be traduced or insulted with impunity ; —that he had ever paid the strictest attention to the police of the city ; that the Bow Street officers could not possibly have any thing to complain of ; for he knew nothing of the affair until Anthony and Adkins came with me to the Mansion House, and then he certainly called them to account for not paying that attention and respect to the Chief Magistrate, which they ought to have done, in having his sanction and authority for arresting any one in the city ; that the corporation was already in possession of the facts, and he

was not afraid of investigation, as he was conscious he had not exceeded his duty: that so far from any riot or disturbance taking place, Mackcoul went quietly away with Anthony, while Adkins went a contrary road, as he believed, to inform Mr. Kensington: in short that the whole story of the riot was a fabrication of the Bow Street officers to answer their own sinister purposes. I now interposed, and told Mr. Willis, I had waited upon him to enter into an explanation, and had no doubt, that to any impartial and unprejudiced man I could make my innocence as clear as the sun at noon day, and should be happy, unaided and unassisted, to wait upon Mr. Kensington for that purpose, or to answer any questions he might be pleased to put to me: and that if he would introduce me to Mr. Kensington I should be for ever thankful, observing, that "the cause of an innocent man could dishonour no one however exalted:" for that I was truly innocent in the proper sense of the word, as I neither directly nor indirectly, by collusion or otherwise, knew any thing of the offences laid to my charge. However, he appeared unwilling to interfere, and we left him.

While I was standing in the street thanking the Marshal for his kind offices toward me, Mr. Willis came up and said he would go to Mr. Kensington's, and if he was agreeable to see me, he would let me know directly. In a short time he returned, and I went with him to Mr. Kensington's in Lombard Street. To detail the whole of our conversation would be impossible. The very introduction filled me with mingled indignation and astonishment. I had scarcely entered the room,

when Mr. Willis in a northern dialect said, " Now Mr. M'Cawl, or Mr. Warren, come, come, quick, let's hear all about it. I have no time to spare. Well now, who are the others ?" Amazed at such behaviour I was for some moments unable to collect myself, at length however I informed them, that I was come to elucidate any part of my conduct they might consider as suspicious, or requiring explanation ; and any question Mr. Kensington might think necessary for that purpose I was ready and willing to answer. But my proposition was treated with the most marked contempt. They told me, if I was not the man, I should show who was, as they were satisfied I must have been concerned in the business. I solemnly assured them I was not, and offered, if they would tell me the route the men went who had committed the offences, and which they must have learnt from the officers, and would send any person or persons with me whom they thought proper, I would bear all the expenses in going to every place where the offenders were seen, converse with every one with whom they had dealings, and go into the company of all those who had accidentally seen them, or indeed do any thing else they would suggest to prove my innocence or guilt. But this overture was treated with the most unfeeling sarcasm. They told me I knew the route much better than they : indeed the whole of their behaviour, instead of being civil and gentleman-like, was harsh and rude in the extreme : till at length after having submitted to their taunts for near an hour, and finding it impossible to make any impression upon their minds, I departed, receiving

at the same time an assurance from Mr. Kensington, that I should be prosecuted to the utmost extremity. This assurance, and the manner in which it was delivered, drove me almost to distraction.*

In the course of this interview I solicited Mr. Kensington to give me information respecting a part of the produce of the forgeries which had come into the Bank for payment, in order to assist me in some inquiries I had it in contemplation to make. But this information was also refused, as were the names and residences of those who had been brought to look at me at Bow Street, and who had declared I was not the man. I know not upon what principle the prosecutors can justify the withholding this information or the route of the offenders: for, if I were guilty, they were only telling me what I must have known, and if innocent, they should have readily furnished me with every thing that could afford an opportunity of proving it.

I had caused notice to be served of my intention to surrender and take my trial at Derby; and the assizes coming on there before those at Stafford and Chester, I began to prepare for my defence, and retained Mr. Serjeant Vaughan. The prosecutors however informed my solicitor shortly before the time for trial, that they should apply to respite the recognizances at Derby until the next

* I have conversed with Mr. Willis, since my first publication, and asked his opinion: the following was his answer. "You certainly have been very ill used: I am sorry for it; but it was Canner misled me. Mr. Kensington ought to do something for you."

assizes. I confess I would have preferred the inconveniences and expense of the trial, to having the charge thus hang over my head for eight months. Nothing could be more distressing to me than being thus kept in suspense; but my feelings of course were not consulted, and I was compelled to submit.

The reader will recollect my mentioning that some information had been given me in prison which I wished for an opportunity of investigating personally. The result I am now about to state. But I shall first give a short sketch of the real offender, his associate, the origin of their connection, and the manner in which they had been employed.

Formerly the receivers of stolen property confined themselves to plate, jewels, and such articles as would at all times and places bring their intrinsic value without much risk of detection. In those days even bank notes were very cautiously meddled with. But of late years the great increase of commerce having multiplied paper securities to an almost unlimited extent, insomuch that they have become nearly an universal medium of payment throughout the country, some few receivers began to consider the purchasing stolen bills an excellent speculation, and deal in them as well as in other purloined property.

Thieves rarely having the address and manners requisite for negotiating bills and notes, or being apprehensive of detection in case of search, were glad to sell them for a mere trifle, while the purchaser, by means of a skilful adventurer, has in a few days obtained the amount for which the bills

were drawn, with no other deduction than perhaps the discount, commission, and the travelling expenses of their agent or accomplice.

The first man who commenced or carried on this business to any extent was one Joshua Palmer, who pretended to be a silversmith, the better to conceal his real occupation, which was that of a receiver of stolen goods, or, in the cant phrase, *a fence*.

Palmer, notwithstanding he had amassed a very considerable fortune by this fraudulent business, and particularly by negotiating stolen bills, called *smashing thick paper*, could not leave off his evil practices, till at length he was convicted and sentenced to fourteen years transportation.*

Thomas Dudfield succeeded Palmer. This man had been reared in the very sink of vice, and at an early age became eminent in depredations, but being detected he was convicted and transported to America. While there he formed a connection with Hannah Lyons, a Jewess, who had also been transported. Dudfield returned to England with this woman before the expiration of his term, and to avoid detection his father sent him down to Ipswich, where he became an under turnkey to

* The offence for which this man suffered transportation, was the receiving cloths, stolen from Messrs. Laycock and Tyler in the Minorities. The three young men who committed the burglary were executed. Palmer offered a very considerable sum to the prosecutors not to persevere against him; but they very honorably rejected his overtures. Even after he was convicted he offered to disclose the particulars of many forgeries and other offences, and to make known the offenders, on condition of being pardoned; but his application was not attended to.

Ripshaw the then jailor, under the assumed name of Lee. When his time was expired, and he considered himself out of danger, he came up to London with his *chere amie*, and kept a brothel of the most indecent and filthy description in Creed Lane, for which they were prosecuted and convicted. They afterwards kept several others of a like description in different parts of the metropolis, but their infamous conduct generally provoked prosecution, and to avoid punishment they frequently removed. At length they fixed their quarters in Fleur-de-lis Court, Fleet Street, where they lived several years, and have only lately removed from thence to Shire Lane, where they keep a house much to the annoyance of the neighbourhood, which they call the Antigallican Tavern.

Dudfield, from his intimacy with all the thieves on town, became well known to Palmer, to whom he was for some time a useful and necessary agent as negotiator between him and the thief: for if a depredation to any extent was committed, Dudfield was applied to by the thief to purchase or dispose of the articles, and as his finances were at that time very low, he was obliged to take them to Palmer, who became the purchaser, and Dudfield received a commission for his trouble.

Palmer, in the course of his dealings with Dudfield, learnt that bills to a great amount were frequently destroyed by him and the thieves, as being not only useless but dangerous; and it occurred to him that he might turn them to a good account. Avaricious however in the extreme, and wishing to secure as much as he could to himself, like all persons of that character, he would not let Dudfield into his plan, but amused him by stating,

that such paper now and then became serviceable to men who were hard pressed for their certificates, by indorsing and giving them to pretended creditors, merely to produce before the commissioners as evidence of their debts. He therefore requested Dudfield to bring them to him, that he might have them handy, if occasion should require; and that he would make him some compensation for his trouble. Dudfield obeyed, and for some time carried him all the *thick paper* that came in his way; but notwithstanding the pains taken by Palmer to conceal his profits, the Argus eyes of Dudfield penetrated the secret, and discovered that bills which he had sold for little or nothing had been negotiated for the whole amount. He also discovered, what was of more consequence to him, who was the negotiator, and that Palmer had practised equal deception with this man; for in order to secure a more considerable share of the produce to himself he uniformly represented not only that something handsome was given for the bills, but that two or three other persons were *in it*, or in other words, that they knew of the business, and were intitled to their share. The negotiator, therefore, who ran all the risk, received but a small proportion, while the hungry receiver, who was in no danger, reaped nearly all the harvest.

Dudfield, therefore, and Palmer's agent, who was called the *Squire*, stimulated by resentment as well as interest, determined to transact business *in their line* without Palmer's intervention, and from that time Dudfield became the rival of him whom he had before looked up to as master.

Shortly after this resolution, Mr. Rutter, an emi-

ment tea dealer at Charing-cross, was robbed of bank notes and bills to a large amount by a young man named Barnes in company with Dudfield and others; Dudfield got possession of the bills, and told his companions that he had burnt them to avoid discovery. But Palmer soon discovered that some of these bills had been paid away, that Dudfield had received them, and that he had found out and employed his own agent the Squire, in negotiating them. Hence an open rupture ensued, and Palmer's resentment was carried to such a pitch, that whenever he met Dudfield, which frequently happened at the George in the Old Bailey, the whole company were annoyed with their quarrels and clamour. Palmer reviled Dudfield for his ingratitude, accused him with taking advantage of the confidence he reposed in him by worming out his secrets and then depriving him of his connections, threatened vengeance against both him and the Squire, and the strife might perhaps have been fatal to some of the party, had not the law laid its iron hand on Palmer, and thus left his opponent Dudfield in quiet possession of the field*.

* At the time of these differences, now about 15 years ago, being a prisoner in the rules of the Fleet, and using the George public house, I frequently witnessed these quarrels about the *Squire*. But as neither party related the particulars, the company as well as myself were ignorant who was meant or what was the real cause of dispute between them. Little did I then imagine the jeopardy and anxiety this same *Squire* would occasion me.

Palmer being effectually removed, Dudfield became the *receiver general*; and, notwithstanding he has realised many thousand pounds, still continues his nefarious practices. But it is hoped the measures I have taken and this publication will have the effect of preventing his receiving further benefit through the medium of his *Squire*. He is now known to the officers of justice, and will not therefore, perhaps have the hardihood to commit many more such offences. If he should, he cannot expect to escape detection.

I shall now make the reader acquainted with THE SQUIRE, and his character, as far as my exertions have been able to collect it.

John Knight is a man possessing considerable talents and ingenuity, which have enabled him for many years to commit offences without detection, and indeed so discreetly has he uniformly conducted himself, that those most intimate with him never suspected from whence he derived his pecuniary resources. These were only known to his employers, who were too deeply interested in keeping the secret, ever to disclose it to the world; and until he was apprehended through my means, he was perfectly unknown to the police officers. By his employer he was always denominated the *Squire*; but whether on account of his superior manners and qualifications, or as a play upon his name, is unknown, though it is perhaps owing to his being always so called by them, that he has so long eluded public justice.

In tracing back the history of Knight I find he has not for years followed any regular occupation to obtain a livelihood. It is true that

about twenty years ago he followed the profession of a player, and performed at one of the provincial theatres ; but when in that capacity he cheated every one with whom he could get credit. In later years he has been engaged with several of those pests of society, who under the specious title of merchants take counting-houses, prevail upon industrious tradesmen to sell them goods and merchandize, and just before the bills given or accepted for them become due, the merchants decamp, the counting-houses are shut up, and the deluded tradesman has no clue by which he can find out the sharpers ; though they are perhaps at a very little distance committing similar frauds under some other name or firm.*

* The multiplicity and organization of these swindling firms has become truly alarming, and they are the more to be reprobated because their frauds are generally directed against the young unwary beginner, who under the idea of executing a large and beneficial order is induced to embark not only his whole property but all he can procure on credit, receiving in exchange for his goods, worthless bills, these being dishonored he cannot make his payments ; his credit is consequently ruined, his prospects in life blasted, his energy fails him, and ultimately he and his family from a moderate competence are reduced to paupers.

The miscreants who follow this species of fraud are called *Masters*, and are generally in gangs of six or eight : several counting-houses are taken separately by the different individuals, who go by fictitious names ; therefore when goods are applied for by one of these firms, the others are referred to for character ; a favourable answer is of course given to the applicant, and he parts with his goods in perfect confidence that he is dealing with honorable and responsible men, whereas, had he taken the precaution to enquire a little into the character and circumstances of the

In addition to the address and appearance of a gentleman it is understood that Knight is acquainted with the genealogy of most families of distinction, their residences, estates, &c. and being capable of conversing with ease and elegance on most topics, can readily impose himself on any company as a man of consequence.

Possessing these accomplishments together with the confidence acquired by performing in public, and the knowledge of commercial transactions gained with his quondam merchants, Knight was peculiarly adapted to the task he undertook. He could without embarrassment form any story likely to answer his purpose, and by means of his specious appearance, and the avidity with which the country bankers seize every opportunity to put their own notes into circulation, readily induce them to cash any bill he thought proper to tender.

Though it is understood that Knight has negotiated stolen bills to a very large amount, he has not ultimately benefited or improved his circumstances. For no sooner did he obtain any considerable sum of money, than he visited the gaming table, and he who had been duping others became an easy prey to sharpers of a different de-

recommender, he would probably have discovered the imposition and have saved his property.

The public is much indebted to the industry and perseverance of Mr. Kinnard, an acute and intelligent magistrate at the Thames Police Office, for having recently developed a horde of this description whose frauds have been immense—One of the gang has been brought to capital conviction at the Old Bailey, and several others are now in a course of prosecution.

scription. The black legs considered him a gentleman of fortune, and some of them have observed, since Knight was in custody, that they were thereby deprived of an annuity, as they always reckoned upon winning considerable sums yearly from him.

From Knight's losses at the gaming table he was continually in want of money, and anxious for an opportunity of obtaining it. Therefore no sooner did his employers possess themselves of bills or notes to any considerable amount which had been stolen from a pocket book or parcel, than he was sought for and always found ready to negotiate them.

Dudfield, naturally suspicious, would not trust Knight to negotiate the bills alone, if they were of large amount, lest he should retain the whole of the produce; but accompanied him round the country, taking especial care not to be present while the bills were cashed; but waiting at an inn at some small distance, and immediately received his proportion of the money.

At the time of my commitment I had not the slightest suspicion by whom the stolen bills had been negotiated, nor any clue which could give me a chance of discovering the offender. But after being a short time in Newgate, my wife was told, that Mr. Lucas, a stock-broker, had received a forty pound bank note, the produce of one of the bills paid away by a forged indorsement, to purchase some stock; that the note was traced to Dudfield; that Mr. Kensington had inquired how he came possessed of it; but that instead of coming forward and giving the desired information, Dud-

field sent a Jew attorney named Harris to Mr. Kensington to say that as he had extensive money transactions he could not tell from whom he had taken it.

Immediately on learning these particulars I sent my wife to Mr. Lucas to enquire whether they were true. He told her, that so far as came within his knowledge they were. When she returned to me, an attorney named Mawley was present transacting business with a fellow prisoner, and as my wife communicated what she had learnt in his hearing, he immediately said he knew the man who had committed the offences; it was Dudfield's *Squire*, whose real name was *Knight*; and that he bore a strong resemblance to me.

Mr. Mawley had a most conclusive reason for fixing upon Knight as the offender, which he then related. He was formerly employed by Dudfield as his attorney, and, when I was charged with uttering the bill of exchange at Richmond, directed him to attend my examinations and watch the proceedings; from the conversations that passed at that time between Dudfield and his associates, Mr. Mawley learnt that the *Squire* had negotiated the bill I was accused with uttering. Knowing therefore that Knight passed the bill at Richmond in Yorkshire, and learning that the *same name* was used on the present forgeries, that the indorsement was in the *same hand writing*, the *description of the person similar*, and the *produce traced to the same parties*, no doubt could be reasonably entertained by Mr. Mawley, that Knight was the man who had negotiated the present bills in Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and Cheshire.

Mr. Mawley observed, that nothing short of the dreadful attempt that appeared to be meditated against my life could induce him to disclose these circumstances ; though indeed the parties did not deserve much consideration, as it appeared by their conduct they were desirous of involving me by using the name of *Warren*, when they might have equally effected their purpose by assuming any other.

Mr. Mawley very humanely offered to render me any service in his power without fee or reward : but ignorant where Knight was to be found, he recommended me to attend to the advice of my solicitor in making immediate application to the Court of King's Bench to get bailed, as when at liberty I might probably find out Knight, and thereby save my life.

For several weeks after my enlargement I occupied myself in endeavouring to discover who this Knight was, but my exertions were unavailing. None of the Police officers knew him, or ever heard of such a man. I set persons to sound what are called *family men**; but they were wholly ignorant of such a character, and, had I not heard his name mentioned in the disputes between Palmer and Dudfield, I should have doubted whether such a man did really exist, and have been led to believe Mr. Mawley was trifling with me. But just as I had given up all hopes of finding him, an accidental occurrence furnished me with all the wished-for information.

* Thieves and their associates.

One day returning with my wife from my solicitor's through Smithfield, she observed a man named Perry, who was engaged in taking counting-houses and obtaining goods in the manner I had been told Knight was accustomed to do. This man had some time before brought a quantity of lace to my wife wishing her to purchase it, and upon her declining observed, that she need not be under any apprehensions that it was dishonestly, or improperly come by, as he could shew her a regular bill of parcels. He accordingly produced it, and the lace appeared to have been purchased by a Mr. Knight, whom Perry represented as a sporting character often involved in pecuniary difficulties, who being then particularly in want of cash had employed him to sell the lace for what he could get, and that she might have it at the wholesale price. She nevertheless refused to purchase, and he took the lace away.

On seeing Perry it occurred to my wife that the name he had mentioned upon the lace business was Knight. She reminded me of the circumstance, but from the length of time that had elapsed she was not very positive as to the correctness of the name. We determined therefore to get into conversation with him, and if possible worm out the particulars, whether the name was Knight, and if it was, where he could be met with ; but without letting him perceive our object.

I therefore accosted Perry, and after a little common-place talk asked him to take a gill of wine. He assented, and went to a public-house in the neighbourhood, where we renewed our

conversation, and with apparent indifference I led him to speak of Knight, inquiring about the lace, and asking him how Knight and he had settled it. He said, the lace was disposed of, and he had not seen Knight for some time. I also observed, that I had not seen him, and wondered where the devil he was gone, for he was an excellent customer at hazard or backgammon. Perry said he had been told he was an excellent *Flat*, and often lost large sums of money, which always kept him poor. I regretted that I did not then know where to find him, as I could put some money in his pocket. Perry said, the last lodgings he knew him to occupy were at No. 9, Macclesfield Street; but he had called there some time before, and found he was gone away. He observed it was a pity Knight did not attend to the bill business; for he was a wonderful clever man, and could pass any bills, if they had but the names of Jack Nokes or Tom Styles. Perry did not by this observation allude to his committing forgeries, but merely to his dexterity in negotiating swindling bills; for, as was before mentioned, he never let his most intimate friends and associates know his concerns with Dudfield.

Having obtained all the information I could from Perry, I hastened back to my solicitor and communicated it to him. From the character given by Perry of Knight, there appeared strong grounds to believe this man was Dudfield's Squire: it was therefore determined to follow up the information in order to be satisfied whether he was or was not the man.

My solicitor went with me to No. 9, Maccles-

field Street, which was kept by very respectable people named Elvidge. Mr. Elvidge was always absent at his employment during the day, and, as his wife was constantly at home, she was able to give us most information. She stated, that, during the time Knight lodged at her house, he upon several occasions went out of town and remained absent for a week or a fortnight, that his journeys appeared to be taken quite unexpectedly, that a friend of his named *Jeffries*, who lived in the city, generally called upon him, and the departure took place with the utmost haste; that Jeffries frequently accompanied him; that Knight told her they went into the country to buy timber and estates; that the reason for their hurry was lest any one should be before them in the purchase, and that Jeffries paid him handsomely for his judgment. Upon being asked whether Knight was out of town in March, she said he was; *that he left London about ten or twelve days before quarter-day**, *that Jeffries called upon him and they left town together, and that Knight then wore a blue coat* †; that on the 3d of April he left his lodgings without any previous notice of his intentions, and never afterwards returned. She produced a letter of Knight's mentioning the day he left, and in which he desired that Mary, a young girl he had seduced from Mr. Elvidge's service, might have his papers, and says, "Mary, who delivers this, will inform you

* This exactly corresponded with the time the offences were committed.

† It will be recollected that some of the witnesses described the offender to have worn a blue coat.

that any notice or answer directed to *Mrs. Hope*, No. 398, Oxford Street, for Mr. Knight, will be duly received." Mrs. Elvidge told us, she understood that Knight took lodgings for himself and Mary at the last-mentioned house in the name of Hope, and that the young woman still lodged there: but that Knight had been for some time keeping out of the way, though for what reason she could not tell.

These facts tended very strongly to confirm suspicions entertained against Knight; but Mrs. Elvidge at length mentioned a circumstance which put an end to all doubt; it was this: being asked whether Knight went by any other fictitious name besides Hope, she said yes, he had gone by the name of WARREN; that Wise, who acted occasionally as his servant, had heard him so accosted, and had mentioned the circumstance to her.

The only thing now wanting was to find Knight; and this was supposed to be no very easy task, as we apprehended, that if any direct inquiries were made at his lodgings in Oxford Street, they would only occasion new caution and concealment. The best mode therefore that suggested itself was if possible to find out Wise, as we conceived he knew Knight's retreat, and a handsome *douceur* would extract the secret from him.

Mrs. Elvidge could not inform us where Wise was to be met with, but said he used to live in or near Union Street, Middlesex Hospital, and she believed he went of messages for a Mr. Parry, a linen-draper, an intimate acquaintance of Knight's, then a prisoner in the Fleet. Mr. Harmer therefore went to Parry, but, he said, although

he had been extremely ill used and ruined by Knight, yet he declined giving any information as to his connections or haunts. He suspected Knight had done something that might endanger his life, and therefore he would neither permit Wise to be seen, nor be himself instrumental in Knight's apprehension.

We then prevailed upon some of the prisoners in the Fleet to keep a look out for Wise, and if they could see him to desire him to call at my house, where he would hear of something very beneficial. I had also a person in constant readiness to watch him, wherever he went, from the moment they should learn he was in the Fleet, and Mr. Harmer and myself went to Union Street, and inquired at every house there ; but after using the utmost diligence, we were compelled to give up the search as fruitless. Neither were my exertions at the Fleet prison more successful, for Parry took the precaution to prevent Wise coming there.

I should also have stated, that Mr. Harmer went to the house in Oxford Street, where Knight's girl lodged, saw Mrs. Gattenby the landlady, and on his asking to see Mr. Hope, she answered that he had not been at her house for a considerable time, but that his wife still lodged there. She appeared very anxious to know Mr. Harmer's business, and he told her that a man named Wise had been recommended to him as a servant, and understanding that he had lived with Mr. Hope, he wished to learn his character from him.

I also went to several gaming-houses to make inquiries after Knight, but though I found several persons who knew him, they could give no in-

formation as to his residence, and besides told me they had not seen him for a considerable time.

My solicitor with myself, afterwards went to Parry, and mentioned the perilous situation in which I was placed, hoping that from motives of humanity and justice he would be induced to second our endeavours to apprehend Knight ; but he still declined, observing, that he was extremely sorry for my situation, and were it not that Knight's life would in all probability be the sacrifice he would render me every assistance in his power : but he could not reconcile it to his mind to be in the least measure instrumental in the death of a man, with whom he had lived upon terms of intimacy, however villainously he had used him.

Anxious to use every endeavour for the discovery of Knight, I employed several persons to watch Dudfield and the old Jewess with whom he cohabited ; but this was of no avail, as they by some means discovered my intentions, and the old jezebel came into the neighbourhood where my sister lived, and shouted aloud, that if I wanted to know where the Squire was, I might come to her, and she would tell me : and sometimes said, he was out of my reach, and safe, as she called it, in *Pansilvany*.

I did not however give credit to Mrs. Lyon's assertions. I believed Knight was still in the kingdom, if not in London ; and conceiving that an artful story told to the girl and landlady might induce them from resentment to discover his retreat, the following expedient was resorted to. My wife went to Oxford Street, and represented to Mrs. Gattenby, that Mr. Hope, under a pro-

mise of marriage, had seduced a near relation of hers, and afterwards left her in a state of pregnancy without the means of subsistence, that being reduced to this wretched situation she had sent for her, and requested that she would wait upon and solicit Mr. Hope to furnish her with sufficient money to get those necessaries which her situation required. This mournful tale very much interested Mrs. Gattenby, and she readily communicated to my wife every thing she knew. But it appeared that neither she nor the girl could tell where Mr. Hope was. She said there was great mystery in his conduct, for which she could not account, that she had been told his name was not Hope but Knight, that he was very much distressed in the spring of that year, and that Mrs. Hope and the infant must have starved but for her assistance. *That in the month of March he left town for a few days, and upon his return had a great packet of country bank notes,* that he directly paid her a bill for the rent and advances she had made, and that one of the notes in which he paid her was a Newcastle bank note. That a Mr. Weatherstone brought money to Mrs. Hope from her husband, and that it was inclosed to him because Mrs. Hope could not read: that they had been expecting Mr. Hope to return home latterly, but he had disappointed them very often, and that she believed no one but Mr. Weatherstone knew where he was.

My wife then came away, having enjoined secrecy from Mrs. Gattenby, and a promise to furnish her with whatever information she could obtain when she next called, which was to be in the course of a day or two.

Having obtained abundant and demonstrative proofs that Knight was the man who had passed the notes, my solicitor waited on Mr. Kensington to communicate the facts. Mr. Kensington appointed him to come the next day, when Mr. Bolger and Mr. Chetham were to be present, observing that as a solicitor was now employed who understood how to conduct the business, he should wish him to hear what Mr. Harmer had to relate. The next morning Mr. Harmer went at the time appointed, and having detailed all the circumstances he had collected, Mr. Kensington and his solicitor, instead of expressing their acknowledgments for the pains that had been taken, received the information with coldness, said they had been told nearly the same story two months before, by anonymous letters; that they had mentioned it to Anthony, the officer who had made some inquiry, but found there was no such man in existence. They said, however, if Knight was really in being and had committed the offences, it behoved me to find him out, and cause him to be apprehended, and that if he were in custody, and it could be made appear to them that Knight was the guilty man and I was innocent, they would certainly relinquish me and prosecute him: and in order to exemplify how necessary it was I should exert myself to procure the immediate apprehension of Knight, before I was myself tried, the ingenious Mr. Chetham cited a case in point. He said his father once prosecuted a man to conviction of a capital offence, and a few months after he had suffered the punishment of the law, it was found he was perfectly innocent, the real depre-

dators being discovered and executed for another offence.

This anecdote should have taught my prosecutors caution, but they had gone too far to recede without disgrace, and therefore determined to persist, whatever might be the consequences.

As the Bow-street officers had been employed, I thought it advisable to give them an opportunity of correcting their errors, and conceived that, when the magistrates discovered their mistake in committing me, they would not only cause the prosecutions to be dropped, but recommend some remuneration for the heavy expense I had been put to, and I should not be again molested. My solicitor therefore waited on Anthony, informed him what he had learnt relative to Knight, and was proceeding to show that he was the offender, intending to request his assistance, when Anthony, interrupting him, asked if he was serious, if he was really so duped as to think me innocent, and said if he could be imposed upon to believe so he would believe any thing. Mr. Harmer replied, he was satisfied of my innocence, and was anxious that the right man should be apprehended. Anthony answered they were right enough already, that he well knew I was guilty of the forgery at Richmond in Yorkshire, and whoever committed that offence committed the others.

Mr. Harmer, finding him so obstinately prepossessed against me, declined asking his assistance in the pursuit we were making, and, from the reception I experienced from another of the officers belonging to Bow-Street, I imagined, that rather than endeavour to find proofs of my inno-

cence, obstacles would be thrown in my way. I therefore determined not to ask the assistance of any one belonging to that office.

On Monday the 13th of July, wishing to consult Mr. Harmer upon the next step to be taken, I went to him at the Hatton Garden Police Office, where he happened to be, accidentally attending an examination. He suggested the propriety of employing an officer to act upon the information we had obtained, and recommended Jonathan Trott as an active diligent man. Trott was accordingly made acquainted with all the circumstances, when it turned out that he had been employed, immediately after the offence, to go into the country to search some suspected persons, and he produced Mr. Bolger's original information of the robbery. Trott said he would mention the business to Mr. Turton the magistrate, who was then sitting, and having his sanction, would readily undertake to search for Knight, and do every thing in his power to further the ends of justice.

A communication was accordingly made to Mr. Turton, and it was thought advisable immediately to take Knight's girl and Weatherstone into custody. Trott, therefore, accompanied by Chapman, another officer, the same evening apprehended the young woman, who said her name was Mary Cockerill. On searching the room *three wigs* were found, one of which had been worn with powder, and the other two of different hues. Neither could there be any doubt of their being intended for disguise, as from the great variance in their form and colour, they would give the person wearing them a widely different appearance. The

girl was questioned about Weatherstone, of whom she denied any knowledge, though her landlady told the officers he had just left the house, and that he lodged at a baker's-shop, in Margaret-street, Oxford-street. The girl was however taken to a place of safety, and inquiries were made for Weatherstone at his lodgings ; but he was not at home, and the officers watched for him until past twelve o'clock, when thinking he had got in unperceived, or had some intimation of persons being waiting about in the neighbourhood, it was agreed that the officers should go there again very early the next day. Accordingly about five o'clock the next morning Weatherstone was apprehended.

On searching his lodgings a tin box was found, which he seemed anxious should not be opened : but the officers peremptorily insisted upon it, and in it they found a variety of letters from Knight to Weatherstone, some of them very recent and dated from Southend in Essex. To prevent his retreat being discovered every possible precaution had been taken by Knight. The letters were not directed to Weatherstone or to his lodgings, but to " Mr. John Verhelst, Sherrard House, Sherrard-street, Golden square, London : " so that any one wishing to find Knight, and knowing him and Weatherstone to be intimate, could not by inquiries at the post office or of the postman of Weatherstone's district, trace his country letters so as to discover Knight's residence by the post-mark. Another precaution it seems was adopted in not directing letters to Knight, but to the fictitious name of J. Kerr, to be left at the post office Southend, and lest the letter telling Weatherstone how to direct

might by accident get into the hands of a third person, Knight particularly desired him to destroy it. Had Weatherstone done so, Knight would in all probability have escaped detection to this day.

The first letter from Knight to Weatherstone appears to have been put into the two-penny post in the Strand, at seven o'clock on the *third of April* 1807. After directing him to transact some business, he says, "*Pray immediately give my love to Mary, and tell her I shall be back with all expedition. If I am not in town on Sunday, you will hear from me by Monday's post ; in haste, J. K.*"

The second letter is dated the seventh of April, and bears the post mark of Lincoln. He transmits something enclosed, which he requests may be sent to Mr. Wright's, No. 13, Warwick-street, and then says, "*There is no occasion for him or any body else to know where I write from. I wrote to you from Hoddlesdon by a friend who was to put it into the twopenny post and pay for it.*"

It is remarkable that the first letter is dated the *third of April*, the very day I was apprehended by Anthony and Adkins. The presumption therefore is, that this circumstance coming to the knowledge of Knight and his companions, they thought it necessary for their own safety that he should be out of the way. This idea is strengthened by his having left London so unexpectedly, that he had even omitted to take leave of his girl. He was accompanied by some one, probably Jefferies,* to

* The reader will presently learn who this Mr. Jefferies was; and as the letter was put in close to his residence, the suspicion was confirmed that he was Knight's companion.

Hoddesdon. This companion went thus far no doubt to see him safe out of London.

The anxiety he expresses to keep the place he wrote from secret is certainly suspicious. It also appears by an account of his expenses at the different places he went to upon his journey, found in his trunk after his apprehension, that he did not stop a day at one place, and that he must have been travelling with a view to avoid being traced. Sometimes he went *by the coach*, then *by chaise*, at other times *by return-chaise*, then *by the mail*, afterwards *by gig*: and thus continued changing his mode of travelling every removal, so as to render it almost impossible to have followed him with any hope of success, had any one been even at that time seeking to apprehend him.

There is a considerable interval between the date of Knight's last letter and that which I am next to insert. This perhaps arose from the correspondence ceasing with his absence. Doubtless when I was fully committed for trial, Knight considered himself out of danger, and returned to London; but afterwards, learning that I was at large and making inquiries about him, he thought it necessary again to consult his safety by flight, and the letters which follow are those written probably when a second time absent from London and endeavouring to conceal himself.

"Dear Withy,

"Since my departure I have experienced nothing but expence and suspense. Mr. J. has not kept his appointment, nor even wrote, and I am bound to

*"be stationary till one or the other takes place. If
 any thing particular has transpired, let me entreat
 a line by return of post—indeed at all events; as
 it will be the only gratification I can possibly re-
 ceive here, to know that my Mary, my boy, and
 yourself are well. I shall expect an immediate
 answer, with an account of what Eldridge said,
 and how he means to proceed. On receipt of yours
 I shall write again and enclose some money. This
 place is still a desert, which I do not regret. They
 do not expect company till July.—With the great-
 est confidence in your usual caution, I shall ever
 remain,*

"Your sincere Friend,

*"Sunday, June 14, 1807. { "J. KERR,
 "Post Office, South-
 "end, Essex."*

"This address had best be destroyed."

"Mr. John Verhelst,

"Sherrard House, Sherrard Street,

"Golden Square, London."

This letter expresses evident anxiety and apprehension of some danger. Why he must remain stationary till he heard from Mr. J. I can guess. It was because Mr. Jefferies, his companion in guilt, considering that no suspicion attached to him, was watching my proceedings in order to inform Knight what transpired, that he might act accordingly. His reason for not regretting the scarcity of company was because from that circumstance he was less liable to discovery. His motive for assuming the name of Kerr, for directing to Verhelst, and for wishing the address destroyed,

I have already pointed out. His next letter is as follows.

"Dear Withy,

"Out of the inclosed pay the postage and accommodate yourself with any part. You can give it to Mary, as occasion requires. I had a letter from Jeffs, who will appoint me at another place in a few days. Then I return to town. Do not neglect calling in Sherrard Street.

"Yours faithfully,

"J. K. in haste,

"June 17, 1807.

"Post going out."

"Pray fold and deliver the other half sheet to Mr. Waller without delay. I rejoice to hear that Mary and the boy look charmingly, though I am not so happy as to enjoy their company. Pay her all the attention you can spare. Have you called over the water? You must think I am at a loss for amusement, when you hear that—I went to church last Sunday! You will forward Mr. Waller's answer directly inclosed as before.

"Mr. John Verhelst,

"Sherrard House,

"Sherrard Street,

"Golden Square, London."

"Your silence, my dear Withy, since Thursday last, when I hope you received my Letter addressed at John's, containing a one pound note, creates great anxiety, as I expected in a day or two an answer inclosing one from Mr. Waller. If any new disagreeables have sprung up, let me know without delay, and in return I shall send a supply for my

*" dear Mary. Jeffs still keeps me in suspense. He
 " was to make an appointment in a few days
 " from Tuesday last; but it seems they have
 " not yet expired. I shall be miserable till I hear
 " that Mary, and the boy, and yourself, are well
 " and comfortable, which is far from being the case
 " with,*

" Yours truly,

" Tuesday, June 23d, 1807. " J. KERR."

" Mr. Verhelst,

" Sherrard House,

" Sherrard Street,

" Golden Square, London."

It appears from these two last letters, that Knight is controuled and directed intirely by Jefferies. He cannot move without the latter's instructions, or come to town unless he sees him. Can this mystery be accounted for except as arising from a guilty cause? I think not. It could not be to avoid civil process, that he thus kept from London, where he might have visited his girl and his child, for whom he expresses so much regard and anxiety, on a Sunday in defiance of all the sheriff's officers in the metropolis. Besides he might have been equally safe in the neighbourhood of London. As he resided in Middlesex, writs would have been issued against him in that county. He might therefore have remained in the city with perfect safety. If writs had been issued against him there also, he might have avoided them by walking over either of the bridges. But every one must perceive, from the mysterious expressions that pervade the whole of these letters, that he appre-

hended a far more dreadful evil than an arrest for debt.

On the back of the last letter is a sketch of Weatherstone's answer, in which he apologizes for not replying sooner to former letters, and says it was in consequence of not knowing where to direct, for Knight having said he was to meet Mr. J. at some other place he thought he might be removed from Southend. He adds that Mary was continually sending her love to him, understanding that they saw each other daily. Knight's next letters are as follow.

"Dear W.

"I have only time to say, that you will hear from me by next post, fixing a time to meet. Love to all.

"Yours truly,

"K."

Mr. John Verhelst,
Sherrard House,
Sherrard Street,

Golden Square, London,

Post mark, "Sheerness, June 29, 1807."

"Dear Withy,

"Expensive and disagreeable as my stay here must be, I am under the necessity of staying until Monday; and on Tuesday mean to be at the place where we last dined, and request you will have the goodness to inform Mr. G. It will afford me great consolation to hear, by return of post, that all who are dear and valuable to me are in health. Their comforts my life is devoted to.

"Tell Mary, she is always with me, and give the
 "sweet boy a kiss, but all his mother's must be re-
 "served for,

"Yours truly,

"J. K."

"Friday, July 3d, 1807."

Post mark, Rochford.

Mr. John Verhelst,

Sherrard House,

Skerrard Street,

W. Golden Square, London.

As the post mark of the first letter is Sheerness, it is probable Knight had been over there to meet Jeffries, and receive instructions for his future conduct.

There is nothing worthy of observation in the last letter, except that he postpones coming to town without giving any reason, though he states it as expensive and disagreeable to remain where he is. On the back of this letter is a sketch of Weatherstone's answer, in which he says, that Knight's girl was out of all patience at being put off from time to time, and that he would now mention Wednesday next without fail for his return, and would desire Mrs. G. to get his room ready.

"Dear Wilthy.

"I had occasion to meet a person half-way
 "to Town, and should have proceeded, had he not
 "given me strong reason to believe that every effort
 "was making to annoy me. Liberty is of so much
 "consequence to me at this crisis, that I must pre-
 "serve it if possible. Have the goodness to say by
 "return of post, whether inquiries have been made in
 "Oxford Street or elsewhere. If not, at all events I

*"shall venture up, and send to Margaret Street
 "soon in the morning. Exert yourself to convince
 "Mary, that her future happiness depends on my
 "immediate caution, and believe me her's and
 "Your's truly,*

"Thursday, July 9th, 1807. "J. K."

To Mr. John Verhelst, Post mark, Rochford.

Sherrard House,

Sherrard Street,

Golden Square, London.

From this letter it is clear, that Knight was prevented from coming to town by the person who met him half-way. This was no doubt Jeffries, who, either by himself or his agents, was on the alert, watching every thing that was done by me. And, as I had with my solicitor been for several days previous to the date of that letter actively employed in making inquiries about Knight, and Jeffries and his emissaries hearing the progress I had made towards discovering him, thought it necessary for his safety and theirs to prevent his coming to London, doubtless he alludes to these inquiries when he says *every effort was making to annoy him*. He appears anxious to know if those who are seeking him, had found his lodgings in Oxford Street, or his places of resort in town, and his fears are so great, that he will not venture up if even any inquiries had been made after him there.

On the back of the above letter, is a rough sketch of Weatherstone's answer, in which he says "We are all much disappointed in not seeing you. I have been waiting every day since Tuesday, at Mrs. Gattenby's, in expectation of your arrival, and

Mrs. G. has set up every night until eleven o'clock, but I have desired her not to do so any longer, and told her that you was unexpectedly detained by business." He then says he is sorry to acquaint him, some very disagreeable inquiries have been made, relates the conversation between Mr. Harmer and Mrs. Gattenby about Wise, and describes the dress my solicitor wore at the time. He also desires Knight to put a W. at the corner of his letters, as Mr. V. was about to open the last, on account of his omitting that precaution.

Shortly after Weatherstone's apprehension he was taken to Hatton Garden police office for examination; before the magistrates he denied being in any way connected with Knight in criminal pursuits; and said he knew not where he was, or that he was keeping out of the way to avoid apprehension. But being committed for re-examination, and learning from the officer, while conveying him to gaol, that the letters signed Kerr found in his tin box were known to be Knight's hand writing, he admitted the fact, said he had no doubt the writer was still at Southend or in its neighbourhood; and begged his name might not be mentioned as having disclosed the secret.

I had hitherto acted under the advice and direction of Mr. Harmer, who, in the conviction that he was defending an innocent man, had most zealously and anxiously exerted himself in my behalf; and as I now considered there was nothing wanting but Knight's apprehension to place me out of danger, and indeed rid me of all the prosecutions then pending, I requested my solicitor to go

with me and Trött to Southend, to which he consenting, we immediately took post-chaise and got down to Rochford that night. As Knight's letters bore the Rochford postmark, it was thought he might probably bring or send his letters to that town ; or indeed, considering the great caution he took for concealment, that he might reside there and send over to Southend for the answers. We therefore made some inquiries at the post office and other places ; but no information could be obtained.

After a few hours rest, we proceeded to Southend, where we arrived about seven o'clock on Wednesday morning. My solicitor went immediately to the post office, and inquired for Mr. Kerr's residence. The people said he came there daily for his letters, and that he was to be met with at the Royal Hotel ; but on going there and asking the waiter, he told us he knew no such person, and that the only gentleman then in the house was a Mr. Harvey, who from the waiter's description, did not in the least correspond with Knight's person. My solicitor therefore returned to the post office accompanied by me, and interrogated the woman, who insisted that Mr. Kerr was at the Royal Hotel ; for that he had the day before purchased some strawberries from her, that she sent them to him there after his dinner, and called the girl who had carried them, to confirm her account.

It was now suspected that he was denied by the waiter, who might be in his interest ; and it was deemed necessary to act with caution ; some further

inquiries were therefore made about the place, but no Mr. Kerr was to be heard of.

At last it was determined to watch the door of the hotel narrowly, so that no one could leave it without our observation, until an opportunity offered of asking some other person in the house. We then ordered breakfast, and as another waiter attended us, we questioned him as we had done the former: but he, no more than the other, knew any one of the name of Kerr. We then asked whether two gentlemen had not dined there the preceding day, one of whom had purchased some strawberries. He said yes, there had; and they remained playing backgammon until a very late hour; but that the names of those gentlemen were Knight and Harvey; and on his describing the former, we knew he was the man we wanted. We then asked where he lodged. This however the waiter could not inform us, but said he had promised to breakfast there with Mr. Harvey that morning. I then told the waiter that we had business of great importance to transact with Mr. Knight, and that if he would use his endeavours to find out where he lodged, I would give him something handsome for his trouble; and as an earnest gave him a pound note. The waiter first went up stairs to Mr. Harvey; but that gentleman did not know Knight's lodgings, nor where he was to be met with. He then exerted himself by inquiring of several neighbours, and at length obtained the desired information from a hair-dresser.

We went together toward the place described, and found it a little miserable hovel in a remote

part of the village. It was agreed that Trott should go first to the house, and upon his giving a signal, denoting that he was right, my solicitor was to follow. Trott on going into the house inquired of the poor woman who kept it, whether Mr. Knight was at home; the woman hesitated at first, and then said he was not up. Trott told her he would go to him, and then gave the signal agreed on. He went up stairs, and found Knight standing in his shirt listening to the inquiries. Trott called him by his name and asked him how he did. By this time my solicitor joined them.

As the person of Knight was unknown to either of us, it had been a subject of conversation in our way down, how necessary it was to be circumspect lest we should take an innocent man: and Trott ingeniously suggested, that as the greater part of the letters found on Weatherstone had a remarkable seal impression, he had no doubt but that Knight carried this seal about him. If therefore he should find such a seal on any one answering Knight's description, he should be perfectly satisfied he was right. He now observed a watch lying on a table in Knight's apartment, and finding the seal correspond with the impression on the letters, he immediately told Knight he was his prisoner, desired him to dress himself, as they must proceed to London, and added, he must take every thing belonging to him that was in the apartment.

Knight was extremely agitated and very anxious to know the nature of the charge against him, repeatedly asking whether it was dangerous; and wished my solicitor to enter into conversation.

But this the latter declined, observing, that he might in some measure be considered as employed professionally against him, and could not therefore with propriety enter into any particulars ; but assured him that the charge was serious. Knight then dressed himself, the remainder of his apparel, books, papers, &c. were packed up in his trunk, and he and Trott set off for London in a post-chaise.

The circumstances of Knight's apprehension having been soon spread about Southend, a considerable bustle was created, and Mr. Harvey having been told what had occurred, came to my solicitor and expressed his astonishment. He said he was never more pleased in his life than in Knight's company ; that Knight was not only a very pleasant companion, but a well informed man, and that from his conversation he had considered him independent in his circumstances.

On their way to town Knight became very restless, and asked the officer if he had his book of roads, as he wished to see it. Trott told him he could not want it at that time. Knight then said he wished to get some silver from his purse. Trott answered he could have no occasion for silver, as he himself should pay all the expenses. He then wished the chaise to be stopped, alleging that he had occasion to go out. Trott said they were near the end of the stage, and he had better wait till they changed horses.

On their arrival at the next stage, Knight went to the privy. But no sooner had he entered, than he began to break out at the back part, which

was overheard by Trott, who told him it was useless to make such foolish attempts to get away ; that he had as yet treated him with the greatest civility, but if he repeated his attempts to escape he should certainly handcuff him. Knight apologized for his behaviour, attributed it to the agitation of his mind, being so suddenly taken into custody, and begged the officer would ease his mind by telling him what the charge was, and whether it was dangerous. Trott asked " Are you afraid then of any thing dangerous ?" Knight made no answer, but instantly changed the topic of conversation.

They had not proceeded far, before Knight repeated his request to have some silver, and told Trott, that unless he produced the purse, he should be inclined to think he had stolen it, and, if he would not permit him to have his money, he ought to satisfy him and let him see it was safe.

Trott not suspecting his intentions, after some importunity, opened the trunk, when Knight began to turn over the things, pretending he wished to see if some trifling articles were there ; and at last he seized a letter, which he with the utmost rapidity tore with his teeth, and Trott seeing several pieces in his mouth, which he was endeavouring to swallow, seized him by the throat, when Knight threw the remaining pieces out of the window.

Trott immediately with the assistance of the post boy, handcuffed his prisoner, collected the pieces, and put them in his pocket. Knight begged to have the pieces restored to him, saying it

was a private letter from a lady which he did not wish to have seen. But Trott refused, and Knight then offered him money to keep it secret from the magistrate.

On putting the pieces together they ran as follows.

" *London, July 6th, 1807.*

" *Sir,*

" *I have had the gout ; and other*
 " *things in family matters has been the cause of my*
 " *not seeing you ; but perhaps it was for the best.*
 " *A tinney has broke out as hot as hell. If you re-*
 " *ceive this, direct to Mr. Goodman, at Mr. An-*
 " *drews, Crown and Horse Shoe, Holborn, and I*
 " *shall come immediately.*

" *Yours, &c.*

" *T. Brown.*"

" *Mr.*

" *Post*

" *Soutl*"

The parts wanting in the direction were torn away by Knight in his attempt to destroy the letter ; and it is imagined, he must have swallowed the pieces, as both Trott and the postboy searched very diligently for every scrap of paper near the spot.

The cant phrase of *family matters* is well understood by thieves and their associates, being used by them when alluding to thieving concerns. By the *Tinney* is meant, that a discovery has taken place.

On our reaching London an inquiry was made of the pot-boy at the Crown and Horse-Shoe for Mr. Goodman ; he said he knew him very well,

and that he came there frequently, and, as his master was up stairs in bed, Trott desired the lad to go and ask him when Mr. Goodman was expected. But instead of the boy returning immediately with the answer, the landlady was called up stairs, and after some time the lad came down, saying, his master knew no such person. The lad himself too pretended he had mistaken the name, and said he did not know Mr. Goodman. The mistress was likewise overheard abusing the boy for having said any thing about Mr. Goodman, and for talking about what he knew nothing of.

This conduct is easily accounted for, since it turns out, that the house is not only the resort of loose characters, but that the landlord, Dudfield, Knight, Goodman, and Treble, who will be hereafter mentioned, were all intimately acquainted with each other.

The name of Brown was certainly fictitious, as no such man could either be found or heard of; and I have no doubt that Brown and Jefferies were one and the same person.

Very soon after Trott's arrival in town with Knight, he went accompanied by Chapman to apprehend Dudfield, and Hannah Lyons the old Jewess. The news of Knight's apprehension, it appeared, had just reached them. But how they obtained their intelligence, I cannot say. Trott and Chapman listened at the door before they went in, and heard the old Jewess exclaim, "*They have grabbed the quire,*" and, seeing the officers enter, they both appeared greatly alarmed.

Trott's attention was directed to Dudfield, who endeavoured to escape both by force and by stra-

tagem ; nor was it till after Trott presented a pistol, and told him if he resisted he must take the consequence, that he submitted. Trott searched him, and, as the apprehension was in the city, lodged him in the Compter.

Trott desired Chapman to search the house minutely, and also the woman ; and to secure all the notes he found upon her (which were a considerable quantity) and bring her to the Compter. But, strange to relate, he neither brought away the woman nor the notes, notwithstanding Trott asserts, that he saw a great number in Chapman's hands. I therefore suspect Chapman was by *some means* brought over to her interest, and the more so, as she was soon after heard to exclaim, " Good luck to Chapman ! *he's good goods.*"

In the evening while Trott was employed in apprehending and securing Dudfield, Mr. Harmer waited on Mr. Kensington, informed him that Knight was taken, and related all that had occurred. That gentleman however complained, that his head was in such a state of confusion from indisposition, that he was incapable of retaining the particulars, and therefore referred him to Mr. Bolger, who was at a coffee-house in the neighbourhood.

Mr. Bolger, it will be recollected, was one of the proprietors of the stolen bills of exchange, and attended in London, on the part of his house, to superintend the different examinations and prosecutions. But he appeared throughout a mere automaton, solely set in motion by Mr. Kensington, and seemed by no means to have a will of his own ; when Mr. Harmer therefore saw him,

the prisoner, he hesitated, appeared much confused, and at length answered, "*I cannot say any thing to him.*"

This confusion I attribute to his recognizing Knight as the offender, and wishing to conceal that circumstance. For having formerly brought his mind to say he believed I was the man, he was now probably ashamed of retracting : particularly as myself and the prosecutors were present ; and he could not but observe the extreme anxiety of the latter to have it believed, that I alone was guilty. Indeed the conduct of Mr. Smedley was so palpable that even the worthy magistrate Mr. Turton expressed himself very much dissatisfied.

Dudfield was then questioned as to how he came by the forty pound note paid to Mr. Lucas the stock broker, and traced to him. But he replied in the most impertinent manner, that it was of no use to ask him any questions ; he should say nothing.

This was all that passed upon the first examination of Knight, and the magistrates directed that he should be again brought up on the following Monday. On Knight's leaving the office, Smedley followed and endeavoured to get another sight of his face ; but this the former avoided by averting it.*

* Had Mr. Kensington assisted at this juncture, and produced all those witnesses who had seen the offenders, no doubt can be entertained but Dudfield and Knight would have been positively identified. The latter was in the identical dress worn by

On Knight's return to prison he pretended to have a spasmodic affection which distorted his face, and drew one of his eyes so that he could not open it. Mr. Webbe, the surgeon of the prison, however, soon discovered that his illness was a trick, and the prisoners in the same room mentioned that Knight on hearing any one come up stairs altered his features more than usual. He was no doubt apprehensive that some of the gentlemen with whom he had discounted bills should come to look at him, and thus disfigured himself to prevent being recognized.

He also resorted to a further expedient to disguise himself. He requested to have two blisters to place behind his ears, asserting that he knew it would give him relief. Mr. Webbe, though convinced that his illness was feigned, yet considering that it could do no harm, yielded to his importunity. Instead, however, of placing them behind his ears, he applied some of the plaister to his face, which discoloured it and caused considerable alteration in his appearance when he was again brought up for examination.

At the next meeting Mr. Webbe waited upon

him when paying away the bills, and at this time no opportunity had been afforded him to alter his dress and disguise his person as he afterwards did.

At this period the prosecutors had the means of bringing all the parties to justice. Treble, the man who evidently stole the parcel; Knight who forged and negotiated the bills, and Dadfield, the necessary, were now all in custody: but they rather chose to shut their eyes against the truth, and by blindly and shamefully pursuing me, all the real offenders escaped with impunity.

the magistrate, and informed him that Knight's illness was mere imposture, and that he was in perfect health.

I should state that neither Mr. Kensington nor his solicitor voluntarily attended this examination. It was not until the magistrate sent a peremptory message, that they came, and when in the office they whispered something to the magistrate which neither I nor my solicitor could hear: but from what I have been since able to collect, they insinuated that this apprehension of Knight was most probably a mere trick of mine to prevent being tried; and suggested that it would be advisable to keep the parties in custody until after my trial, as something might then transpire, which would elucidate the transaction, and assist the future investigation against Knight and Dudfield. And this suggestion was adopted by the magistrate to the visible satisfaction of all my persecutors.

Thus then, notwithstanding I had expended a large sum of money, and devoted many days in anxious and unwearied exertion to find Knight, and cause him to be apprehended: notwithstanding every circumstance tended most strongly to fix the guilt upon him, and of course to exonerate me, yet was I still doomed to the expense and hazard of being tried for capital offences in distant counties. I had reasonably expected, that, if I succeeded in tracing the offender, not only the prosecutions against me would be abandoned, but some compensation given me for the injury I had received. These expectations were however frustrated, and it appeared that nothing short of my

suffering an ignominious death could satiate the misdirected vindictive spirit which had taken possession of my adversaries. What could give rise to this malignant infatuation, I am unable to discover. I had not only shown them I was innocent, but who was guilty; and had the prosecutors immediately followed up the investigation against Knight, no doubt many strong facts might have been discovered against him and his accomplices: as it will be hereafter seen, that even at the distance of some months I obtained many additional proofs of their guilt. But I had now no motive to pursue the inquiry, especially as I could not obtain the countenance or assistance of the prosecutors. Indeed, as the assizes were to commence in a few days, I felt it necessary to turn my attention seriously to my own defence.

Meanwhile I cannot help complaining of the conduct of Mr. Kensington, which appears to me both cruel and unjust. If he had resolved to prosecute me at all events, why did he not ingenuously declare his intention, instead of buoying me up with false hopes, that if Knight were apprehended, and it should appear he was guilty, I should be relinquished and he prosecuted? For this was the allurements repeatedly held out to me and my solicitor by Mr. Kensington. Knight was accordingly apprehended; and surely there appeared a chain of circumstances against him sufficient to warrant a strong suspicion, if not indubitable evidence, that he was the offender.

If so, it was the bounden duty of the prosecutor to pause before he proceeded farther against me. If any thing remained doubtful, my recognizances

might have been respited until a full investigation had taken place. If the result were against me and in favour of Knight, I might still have been tried: if it demonstrated his guilt, he ought to have been placed in my situation.

That Knight was the offender, I think I have already shown. But if the reader still doubts, abundant facts will hereafter be adduced, which must, I conceive, satisfy his mind, however sceptical he may be.

A few days after Knight's apprehension, Townsend, the officer belonging to Bow Street, waited on Mr. Turton the magistrate, and informed him that he had no doubt of my innocence, stating as his opinion that Treble stole the parcel, that Dudfield received the bills of exchange, and that Knight negotiated them.

Whether this communication was made by Townsend, that he might afterwards take credit to himself for superior sagacity, or from compassion toward me, is best known to himself; but it was certainly without any solicitation on my part: indeed he was the last man I should have expected to interest himself on my behalf, as we had been at variance for several years.

If Townsend was actuated by a sense of justice and humanity, he doubtless made the same representations to the magistrates at Bow Street and to Mr. Kensington: and if so they surely ought to have given credit to an officer of his celebrity, if they had no faith in what was said by my witnesses and solicitor.

The reader, when acquainted with my motive, will I trust excuse me for detailing so minutely

every particular respecting Knight, the causes of suspicion against him, the sources whence I obtained my information, and the occurrences attending my inquiries and his apprehension.

Shortly after the examination of Dudfield and Knight, my solicitor again waited upon Mr. Kensington, in hopes that, by pointing out the strong circumstances which had arisen against Knight, it would be demonstrated that he was the man for whom I had been mistaken; but after listening to him for a few minutes, Mr. Kensington observed, they were not to be diverted from their object by such ridiculous manoeuvres, that there was no proof against Knight but the bare possession of the note, and that he might have received that honestly. Mr. Harmer answered, if so, why not give a direct answer to the magistrates, instead of prevaricating, when asked how he received it? To this Mr. Kensington replied, that he was perfectly convinced of my being guilty; that we were most probably acquainted with each other, and perhaps intimate friends; that no doubt I knew at all times where to find him; and that in order to serve and exonerate me, and if possible embarrass the prosecutors, he had submitted to have the Wirksworth note found in his possession.

Thus then to rebut these unfounded insinuations and justify myself to the world, I have felt it necessary to state, as well as my recollection enables me, every incident as it happened; and those, whose names are mentioned, must, I am sure, do me the justice to acknowledge, that I

have neither misrepresented nor exaggerated any thing.

So far from having any concern or acquaintance with Knight, I most solemnly declare I never spoke to him; neither did I ever see him but once before I caused him to be apprehended, and that many years ago. He was, at the time, becoming bail for Dedfield and Hannah Lyons, for keeping a disorderly house, and he was pointed out to me from a distance as the Squire, about whom so much controversy had taken place between Dedfield and Palmer.

As Mr. Kensington at this interview re-echoed the observations of the Bow Street officers, that the strong ground of suspicion against me arose from a conviction that I was guilty of the offence at Richmond, I thought it advisable to prevail on a friend to write to Mr. Priestman, to learn if he still retained the opinion respecting me which he had expressed before Sir Richard Ford, in hopes that if he did, it might have some weight with the prosecutors. The following is an extract from his answer.

"I have received your letter, and can only say
 "that the person I saw at the Public Office in
 "Bow Street, of the name of Mackcoul, was not
 "the same person with whom I did business at
 "our office here under the name of J. Warren. I
 "am really at a loss and not able to account for
 "Mr. Chadwick's declaration regarding the pri-
 "soner Mackcoul."

This letter however made no impression upon my prosecutors. They sarcastically observed, they were not ignorant of the means used with Mr.

Priestman to influence his opinion and induce him to deny me : and alluded to the abominable story invented by the Bow Street officers of my wife and sister having prostituted themselves to him.

The prosecutors give me credit for possessing considerable ingenuity ; but I submit to the public whether they can attribute the commission of these offences to me without supposing me the greatest blockhead in existence.

I was accused of negotiating the bill at Richmond in the name of Warren, and some of my inveterate enemies at Bow Street Office persisted in declaring that I was the man. Indeed it must be evident from their disposition towards me, that they would not let any opportunity to harrass me escape them. Therefore, whether I were innocent or guilty of the former offence, I could not have used the name of Warren upon the latter occasion, unless courting detection ; for must I not be satisfied that, when the transaction came to the knowledge of these officers, they would immediately represent to the persons defrauded, that I had been accused of negotiating a bill in the name of Warren ? Must I not be convinced, that the spleen of the officers would induce them to apprehend me ? Whereas by using any other name this danger would be avoided.

The offender, however, had a strong motive for adopting the name of Warren : having before escaped with impunity when using it, he naturally imagined that I should be again taken into custody ; and as there was some resemblance in our persons, I should be mistaken for the offender.

By these means pursuit and inquiry after him would be completely diverted, and he would of course avoid detection. Such were most probably his reflections, and the result for the moment answered his expectations.

Finding there was nothing to hope from the prosecutors; apprehensive, from the determined spirit with which they had hitherto persevered against me, that no means, whether fair or otherwise, would be left untried to insure conviction; and fearing, therefore, that endeavours would be used to prevail on the servants or persons in subordinate situations to the witnesses already examined, to come forward and support the testimony of their superiors, I thought it advisable to learn, if possible, whether any project of that sort was in contemplation; and having mentioned the subject to a gentleman with whom I was acquainted, he offered to go into the neighbourhood where the offences were committed, and furnish me with what information he could obtain.

Very shortly after his arrival he learned that a young man was there in the character of Cretam's clerk, to collect, as he said, information previous to the trial, and to find out all those who could give material evidence on the subject. This young man, I was told, was continually in the company of the witnesses, entertaining them with a recital of fabricated anecdotes respecting me. There was scarcely any crime which he did not represent me as having committed, and by thus holding me out as a most dangerous member of society, every one who heard him was anxious that I should be brought to condign punishment.

I was represented as an artful, dangerous, and wicked man, unworthy the least commiseration: that although possessed of considerable property; such was my propensity to injure society, that I was not to be deterred from committing any offence, however daring and dangerous, if any thing was to be gained by it. That my pretending to live in the country was only with a view to preparing my plans, and as I supposed, acting with more security; but my proceedings had been watched, and thank God, I was now secured. That I had, by a false affidavit, imposed upon the court of King's Bench, and been bailed out of custody, of which, no doubt, I should take advantage by absconding. That if I did appear and take my trial, nothing could possibly save me. That I was a fit subject for public example, and that every good man ought to lend his exertions, to bring about so desirable an object.

Nor was the prejudice thus excited against me, confined to the witnesses already engaged. The exploits attributed to me were of so extraordinary a nature, that they became the subject of conversation throughout the county, and, no doubt, came to the ears of those witnesses who were afterwards to be brought to look at me, and likewise of the jury who were to try me, and thus impress them with an opinion that I must be the offender. This I consider the real object of this young man's mission, and I think the reader, when informed who he was, will condescend.

It was perhaps apprehended, that those witnesses who had been in London might on cool reflec-

tion be dissatisfied with the evidence they had given : therefore it was necessary to keep up the prepossession against me ; and nothing was so likely to bias their minds, or, if they entertained any doubts, to remove them, as the representations of this clerk. That they had this effect will hereafter be seen ; for those witnesses who had before given their evidence with such difficulty and diffidence at Bow Street as to my identity when they appeared in the witness's box at Stafford, swore to me without hesitation, and expressed themselves as having little or no doubt of my being the man. It was also intended that the same impression should be made upon the witnesses who were to be brought to look at me for the first time at Stafford.

In case any compunctions of conscience were likely to arise, these infamous reports were calculated to quiet them. The witnesses would perhaps satisfy their minds, that little harm could be done if they were even mistaken, as, if I did not commit these offences, I certainly had committed others which merited an equally severe punishment.

I should have mentioned, that at the sessions held almost immediately after my being bailed, two indictments were preferred against me, for keeping disorderly houses. These prosecutions I have every reason to believe owed their origin to the gentlemen superintending the prosecution for forgery ; being considered by them as excellent auxiliaries, to completely do away the effect of my defence, by throwing discredit upon every one re-

siding with, visiting, or having any dealings with me. The prosecutors, therefore, as I am informed, took down with them certificates of these indictments.

They also provided themselves with an office copy of the affidavit, upon which the habeas corpus was obtained, probably imagining that some of my witnesses might forget the circumstances, and deviate from the particulars set forth in that affidavit, in which case they could produce the office copy, and invalidate their evidence. In this expectation, however, they were deceived. The witnesses came forward to speak the truth, and they were consistent throughout.

In addition to the many witnesses, I have before mentioned, who could prove I was in London when the offences were committed, I accidentally found several others; one of whom was Hannah Wakelin, whose sister washed for my family. This young woman saw from the report of the newspapers, when I was admitted to bail, that one of the charges was on the 18th day of March, and immediately recollected that she had seen me on that day and received the amount of the bill from myself. She remembered it, because it was her sister's birthday; but for greater certainty referred to her washing-book, in which she found the exact day was entered, and her receipt given for the money. She then mentioned the circumstance, and produced me the book to show that she was correct.

A Mr. — Cook also brought to my recollection, that he had called upon me on the 18th of

March, and went with me to Mrs. Stewartson's, where I ordered the vegetables, &c.

Two or three days previous to the Assizes my witnesses, Mr. Harmer, and myself, in all eighteen persons, left London for Stafford: my mind filled with the most gloomy apprehensions.

Having been actively employed for some time previous, in tracing out and apprehending Knight, and having indeed, until the last moment, hoped that Mr. Kensington would perceive his error, and give up the prosecutions against me; the brief for my counsel was scarcely begun when we left town. Mr. Harmer therefore in our way down seized every opportunity to proceed with the draft of my case: he even wrote minutes with his pencil while walking beside the coach on ascending a hill; and when we arrived at Litchfield, he determined to finish the briefs before he went on to Stafford; lest, from the crowd and confusion generally prevalent in an assize town, he should not find a room or convenience to complete it.

The manner in which my briefs were prepared would, as I conceive almost in itself show my innocence. Those who are about to defend themselves by falsehood, and particularly by a false alibi, necessarily take considerable time to fabricate it. The witnesses are tutored, examined, and cross-examined; great care is taken that their testimonies be apparently consistent, and that they tally exactly with each other and with the instructions given to counsel. Nothing of this sort was done in my case; not a witness was asked a question: I had uniformly avoided any rehearsals

with my witnesses, but earnestly requested they would confine themselves to what was within their own knowledge, and by no means assert a falsehood or deny any thing that was true, whether it made for or against me; observing, it was the truth, and nothing but the truth, which could save me. Every circumstance they could really prove was known to myself and my solicitor; he had a plain statement of facts to narrate; and though it ran to a considerable length, the brief was drawn, and two copies made nearly in one day, in the following manner. As soon as Mr. Harmer had drawn a paragraph, it was handed to Mr. Grimaldi, who dictated: and myself and a young man, we procured in the town, wrote the fair copies for counsel.

While thus busily employed, Mr. Kensington and Mr. Chetham came into the room; viewed us, then went into the adjoining apartment, in which were my witnesses, and after looking round inquisitively for two or three minutes, departed.

Early in the morning of the commission day, Mr. Harmer and myself went on to Stafford, leaving my witnesses to follow. We accidentally went to the same inn at which Mr. Kensington and his witnesses put up. The instant I was perceived, they were in motion, each running contrary ways, no doubt to collect their forces or at least their new recruits to look at me.

While breakfast was preparing, I walked up and down the town, and could observe many people come near and eye me very attentively; but, conscious of my innocence, I shrunk not from observation.

Fearing, however, that something unpleasant might arise, if both parties remained at the same inn, I determined to seek accommodation elsewhere.

As I was waiting in the passage to settle for our breakfast, Mr. Harmer, who was at some little distance, said, "Mackcoull, you are pointed out to this young woman, stop and let her look at you."

I then for the first time perceived a young man standing in the door-way, and the girl to whom Mr. Harmer alluded, hastily passed me and was going up a flight of stairs. I immediately addressed her, desired she would not go away, but stay and converse with me; and afterwards asked her if she knew any thing of me. She hesitated a short time, and then answered, "I think I recollect something of your features." I was proceeding to question her, but was interrupted by the young man, who said, "Mr. Mackcoull, you ought to know better than speak to the witnesses;" and told the girl to hold her tongue, and not to answer any questions.

Mr. Harmer, it appears, saw this young man point me out to the girl, and heard him say, "that is him." Therefore when he found fault with me, Mr. Harmer could not restrain his indignation, but in severe terms reprobated his conduct, saying, if *he* had not spoken to the witness, it would have been more to his credit.

As this young man appeared to know me, I was anxious to learn who he was: and great indeed was my astonishment when Mr. Harmer told me it was young Miller from Bow Street. Remembering therefore his attempts to deter Mr.

Grimaldi from coming forward, and perceiving his diabolical intentions in thus pointing me out to the witness, my feelings got the better of my judgment, and I with warmth accused him with being the instrument of others, endeavouring to murder me.

The altercation which thus arose brought out Mr. Kensington, Mr. Bolger, and several others of their party, from the room in which they were breakfasting, so that they heard what passed; and both Mr. Harmer and myself reprove Miller for pointing me out to the girl.

So industrious were the emissaries of the prosecutors, that in less than an hour after my arrival, there was scarcely a person in the town but knew who I was; Mr. Harmer and myself frequently heard it whispered, as we walked up and down the street, "That is the man who has committed the forgeries;" and so completely prepossessed were the whole country against me, in consequence of the stories which had been circulated, that I dare say no man doubted my guilt, or that I should be convicted.

The prosecutors preferred two indictments, one for the bill of exchange cashed by Mr. Bell, the other for that cashed by Mr. Cooper: and though there were exactly the same witnesses upon each, the grand jury found the former, but threw out the latter.

In the evening previous to the trial a consultation was held with my counsel, Messrs. Jervis and Gleed, to whom I feel every obligation and gratitude for the great attention they paid to my

case, and the very able manner in which they conducted it. On their being informed, that my state of mind was such that I should be unable to address the court, they suggested the propriety of Mr. Harmer preparing a written defence for me, which he did accordingly.

At length arrived the day of trial. Some have imagined, that only the guilty feel alarmed before the awful tribunal of justice, while conscious innocence meets investigation undismayed. But I am free to confess it was not so with me ; for as the time drew near, my anxiety increased, and the state both of my mind and body became at last truly wretched.

For several days previous to my going into the country I had taken little or no sustenance : throughout the day I was perpetually harrassed, my nights were sleepless, my spirits became depressed, and ultimately my resolution and fortitude entirely forsook me.

Mr. Harmer on going into court desired me to remain without till he should come for me ; and presently after I heard some one say, " Get him in." I turned round, and perceiving Mr. Kensington, Chetham, and others, I addressed the former observing, that I did not think he would have gone to so cruel a length ; that I was in hopes he would have seen his error, and not proceeded to such extremities against an innocent man. Chetham here interrupted me, saying I had better go into court ; at the same time pushing me forward. But agreeably to Mr. Harmer's directions I declined entering, till he came for me, and it was not till some time after, that I was

wanted. On experiencing this unfeeling treatment, I could not help bursting into tears, which excited the ridicule of my prosecutors instead of their sympathy.

When called by the court, I entered, was placed at the bar before the honourable Mr. Justice Graham, and pleaded *Not Guilty* to the indictment.

Mr. Dauncey opened the case for the prosecution.

I do not complain of that gentleman for the scurrilous language he applied to my witnesses, his misstatement of facts, or his insinuations and threats to me. He no doubt followed his instructions. But it is of those who misled him that I complain, and the reader will see not without sufficient cause.

The prosecutors knew who were my witnesses, not only from their having been examined at Bow Street, but also from the affidavit on which I had been admitted to bail. The ingenuity of the learned counsel was therefore exerted to depreciate them before they should be called into court to give evidence on my behalf.

The learned gentleman told the jury, they would perhaps have a Signor Grimaldi, a Signora Grimaldi, and Signor Bologna come and state, that they dined with me in London on the day the offences were committed. These he represented as itinerant strolling players, to whom little or no credit was due, insinuating that their habits of life were disgraceful and vicious. Mrs. George, it was said, was a pye woman, Mr. Hop-

kins a cobbler, Mrs. Stewartson and Ann Thomas, barrow or market women dressed up for the purpose of giving evidence; that the dinner at my house was probably a made up tale, or there might have been a dinner on the day the witnesses would state, and every thing exist, except that I was not present. Such things were well known to have been done and might be repeated. The jury were desired particularly to look at the evidence as it would be given for the prosecution. The witnesses were all persons of great respectability and credit, and would be extremely circumspect in their evidence; notwithstanding they were perfectly satisfied of my being the offender. That their testimony would be cautious; while on the other side the witnesses would all swear positively and without hesitation. The jury were desired to mark the contrast between those who acted with diffidence, and those who came determined to swear with positive certainty, and to bear in mind the difference of their situations in life; on the one side all respectability, the other the reverse; and with a severe and expressive look, the learned counsel forewarned me against the consequences that would ensue from calling witnesses to an alibi, and attempting to impose on the court by a fabricated defence; adding that he hoped I should not be hardy enough to hazard it, as it could not escape detection. Neither were my former misfortunes forgotten: and it was insinuated that I had been compelled to quit Hayes disgracefully, though the reader will recollect, that

I have fully stated the causes and manner of my leaving that village. The learned gentleman likewise observed on many other topics, which I do not at this time remember, till having concluded his opening speech, he retired, leaving the poisonous tale to work its baneful effects, and did not again return into court.

Mr. KENSINGTON was called to prove that he did not receive the parcel from Messrs. Bolger and Co. of Southwell in Nottinghamshire; Mr. Jervis in cross-examining him, asked whether before Sir William Parsons, several witnesses were not produced who said they did not know any one in the office? Mr. Kensington admitted there were several witnesses attended, *but denied that they were asked any questions by Sir William Parsons.* The witnesses, he said, looked about the office, but were not told to look for the prisoner.

On further cross-examination he admitted that Bell, Smedley, and Cooper were present, when I was before Sir William Parsons, and this fact now *for the first time* became known to myself and my solicitor.

He was then asked whether the witnesses were not desired, if they saw any one whom they knew to point him out, and whether they had not said they did not know any one present. Mr. Kensington for some time evaded the question, but being much pressed, and told by Mr. Jervis, that, unless a distinct answer were given, he must adopt a very different mode of cross-examination, he said the witnesses were not *distinctly* asked the question, and therefore he supposed they did not point me out.

The prosecutor's motive for changing the Magistrate was now apparent. Messrs. Bell, Smedley, and Cooper, when brought into the office, and told that the man suspected was present, and desired to look and see if they could point him out, after looking about minutely, declared they could not see any one they knew. This was before Sir William Parsons, and the prosecutors no doubt conceived, that he, as a conscientious magistrate, would not afterwards receive their depositions, or at least deprive any man of his liberty upon them; and therefore it was necessary that another Magistrate unacquainted with the circumstance should preside.

I should be extremely sorry to impute criminality to any man, particularly to a gentleman of Mr. Kensington's rank and reputation. Indeed I cannot suspect he would be guilty of wilful perjury, though in justice to myself I must say he swore that which was, to use no harsher term, incorrect. In charity to Mr. Kensington I trust his memory had failed him, and attribute his error to that fallibility to which all men are liable.

I hope he erred inadvertently, and that he had actually forgotten what passed before Sir William Parsons. But I insist, that the witnesses *were asked, distinctly and repeatedly asked*, to look around and see if there was any one present whom they knew, and as it turned out that none of them knew me, I should have been directly discharged, had not Mr. Humphreys represented that some other persons were expected in London in a day or two, and that he wished me to remain in cus-

tody till they arrived. That this was the fact, I appeal to Sir William Parsons, to Mr. Alley, to every disinterested person present to verify; though an appeal can scarcely be necessary. The transaction speaks for itself; every man of common sense can I think decide on which side is the truth.

Mr. Kensington wished it to be understood that the witnesses knew me, but did not point me out because they were not, as he said, *distinctly* desired to do so. Then, I will ask, for what purpose was the examination? For what purpose did the witnesses attend at Bow Street? Why were they told they must go into a room above stairs, till the person suspected was intermixed with others, so that no unfair prejudice should be raised against him? why was I placed among a number of auditors, and the witnesses then brought into the office? was it to imitate a quaker's meeting, that the magistrate, prosecutors, witnesses, counsel, attornies, auditors, and supposed delinquent, were assembled to look at and confront each other, and after an interview, of a considerable time, in which they were to remain dumb to separate? Can any one believe, that so ridiculous a mummary took place? Surely, surely not. Bills of exchange to a considerable amount had been stolen and negotiated with different bankers in the country: I had been apprehended as the supposed negotiator, and the witnesses were the bankers or clerks, who had cashed the bills, and were brought to Bow Street, to see whether I was the man who had passed them. Considering these circumstances, then, is it possible, that

they or the magistrate could have been silent? and, if any thing was said, must it not have been as I represent? namely, to desire those witnesses to look round, and see whether they could discover the man who had given them the bills, and after they had so looked, to inquire whether they perceived him.

But I submit, that it was unnecessary for them to be asked a single question; they knew the purpose for which they were brought; and could they have recognized me, would they not exultingly have said, "That is the man."

It will be perceived, that this most important fact, that Bell, Smedley and Cooper, were present before Sir William Parsons, was discovered only by accident on cross-examination: the prosecutors kept it a profound secret, and why? because by admitting it, the subsequent evidence of identity given by these witnesses would have been light as air: it could not have weighed a feather in the scale against me.

Had I known this circumstance, and mentioned it, when applying for the Habeas Corpus, what would the learned judges have said to the case? Even without knowing it, they expressed some dissatisfaction at the manner in which I had been treated; but had *this trick* of changing the magistrate, and *the reason* for so doing been developed, the conduct of my enemies would not, I am convinced, have escaped without its merited reprehension.

RICHARD CHAMBERLAIN was next examined; his testimony was nearly the same as before the magistrate. He admitted that I asked him at Bow

Street to look at, and converse with me, before he gave his evidence,

MARY BANKS, the girl to whom young Miller had pointed me out at the inn, was the next witness. She stated herself to have been chambermaid at Mr. Chamberlain's on the 17th of March, when the men stopped at his house, and, to my great astonishment, said, I was one of them. But my amazement was succeeded by emotions of horror, as she proceeded in her evidence. She swore, that she knew me directly she saw me; that I was not *pointed out to her; that Miller was not present*, nor any one except herself, Mr. Harmer, and me: *that no words arose*, and that I addressed her the moment I saw her, and asked her if she knew me: thus endeavouring to insinuate, that I must have recognized her, and wished to learn whether she remembered me. This was the construction attempted to be put upon my conduct. But the reader will recollect that I spoke to her at the desire of Mr. Harmer, who saw Miller point me out. Yet, notwithstanding Mr. Kensington, Mr. Bolger, and their solicitor witnessed the altercation that immediately ensued; saw Miller standing at the very spot from whence he had pointed me out; heard him accused by Mr. Harmer and myself of gross impropriety in so doing; yet did these gentlemen sit quietly in court, and hear her swear that nothing of the kind transpired.

Mr. BELL was next examined. He without hesitation said he had seen the man since, for whom he cashed the bill, and turning round

pointed me out, adding, he had always believed me to be the man. On his cross-examination he stated that he went up to town in April, and was present at the examination before Sir William Parsons, who asked, "*Is any one here, who can point out the man ?*" That this was addressed to him and others, but that he did not point me out, nor did any one else ; and that he believed I was not pointed out, because no one could swear positively to me.

Here then one of the principal witnesses admits the fact that he and the others were asked by Sir William Parsons to point out the man, which flatly contradicted Mr. Kensington's evidence in that respect.

WILLIAM RADCLIFFE, clerk to the last witness, was next examined ; and very readily swore, he believed I was the man who wrote the name J. Warren on the bill of exchange cashed by Mr. Bell ; tho' I am told he had frequently declared he could not speak to the man, as his back was to him during the transaction. Mr. Miller, however, as it should seem, very soon assisted his recollection, and thought him a fit person to bring to Stafford on speculation. But notwithstanding his readiness to swear to me in his evidence in chief, it was manifest, when he came to be cross-examined, that he knew nothing of the man : for he could not say whether he wore a wig or his own hair ; whether his hat was on or off ; whether he wore powder or not ; nor did he know what coloured coat the man had on. He said he was at the Swan, at Stafford, when he first saw me ; that Miller, Smedley, and others were there ; *that I was walk-*

ing up and down the street ; that he could not recollect whether I was pointed out to him, but somebody said, " he was come ;" and he thought he heard somebody say the man was in the street.

WILLIAM BAYNTON next appeared, but so far from speaking with the same diffidence as at Bow Street, (see page 60.) he swore to me without hesitation, and even took great credit to himself, for selecting me, as he first said, *from a crowd of people*, though I was differently dressed. He however on cross-examination, said, there might be only about twelve on the outside the rail, where he was directed to look ; and admitted that he might have said the prisoner was most like the man of any he saw there ; that he did say at Bow Street he should not like to take an oath I was the man ; and that I had there offered to put on any coat the prosecutors could produce. Had it been known that previous to Mr. Baynton's going into the office my person had been pretty accurately described, and that there was no one present bearing any resemblance to me, no great importance would have been attached to his pointing me out, even had he ventured to swear to me with any degree of certainty.

ROBERT COOPER gave exactly the same evidence as at Bow Street, and which is stated in page 60.

The next and last witness for the prosecution was Thomas Smedley, who said, as at Bow Street, that I very much resembled, and he believed I was the man : but that he did not feel so confident as to speak positively. On cross-examina-

tion this witness said that he, Mr. Bell, and Mr. Cooper, attended two examinations at Bow Street, without giving evidence; that they did not point me out, because they could not speak to me positively; that after I left the office they consulted together, and then *made up their minds*, that I was the man; but admitted this was not till after they learnt I was the person suspected: that he had seen Knight, who resembled me in a slight degree in the face, that Knight did not appear disfigured, but said he had a bad cold and had lost his voice.

The Wirksworth bank note found upon Knight being shown to the witness, he said it was one he had given to the man calling himself J. Warren.

The evidence for the crown being concluded, I was called upon for my defence. An awful silence prevailed, and I read as well as I was able the paper prepared by Mr. Harmer, which stated, as was the truth, that I was in London when the offences were committed, and that I had never in my life been at either of the places described; related the many strong corroborating circumstances showing Knight to be the offender; contrasted my conduct with his, and concluded with solemnly protesting my innocence, and relying on the Almighty, the discrimination of the court, and the justice of my cause, for an acquittal.

Very shortly after the trial commenced I considered myself as a lost man. I knew my defence

was the most dangerous that could be offered. An alibi, if not properly and truly supported, is always suspected, and the least variance in the testimony overturns the whole. I knew mine was free from artifice or trick, that my witnesses were coming forward to speak the truth; but still I apprehended, that from the length of time which had elapsed, minute particulars might be forgotten by some, and these are objects to which counsel for the crown uniformly direct their cross-examination. Considering this, and perceiving the strong impression made upon the court by Mr. Dauncey's speech, and by the witnesses for the prosecution, particularly the false evidence of Mary Banks, it will not, I conceive, appear extraordinary, that I despaired of life, and with difficulty read my defence.

I had scarcely concluded, when my spirits were so overcome that I must have fainted, had not a flood of tears relieved me. This incident has given rise to some sarcastic and very unfeeling observations from the prosecutor's solicitor, who has ironically observed, that the defence was ingenious and well got up; that the effect I gave it by my tears at the conclusion was admirable; that such an appeal, by awakening the sympathetic feelings of the court and jury, did wonders. As for himself, he had often witnessed such scenes, but they had no effect whatever upon him. The apathy he evinced indeed during my trial induces me to give full credit to his assertion, though I confess it does no honour either to his charac-

ter or his understanding to avow himself thus completely destitute of sensibility.*

MR. GRIMALDI was the first witness called in my behalf. He stated exactly what is set forth in his affidavit; and the solemn manner in which he gave his testimony carried conviction and made a lively impression upon every one present. He underwent too the most strict examination; but the more he was questioned, the more apparent was the truth of his evidence; and those who expected to see the zany disgracing himself by his buffoonery, beheld him deliver his evidence with a firmness which could only arise from conscious rectitude: yet still with that caution and dignity which should characterize every honest man, when asserting the cause of truth under the awful obligation of an oath.

I should here perhaps mention, that I felt some apprehension, lest the prosecutor's counsel should endeavour in the cross-examination of Mr. Grimaldi to throw him off his guard, by insinuating that his acquaintance with me was disreputable; and exert their abilities to make him appear ridiculous. Therefore on our way down I hinted my fears, and begged him for God's sake to keep his temper, to answer every question with calmness and propriety, and not to be irritated by any interrogatories

* During the greater part of my trial Mr. Chetham was devouring sandwiches and cakes, as if he had been kept without food the preceding week; and after his appetite was satiated, he lolled himself against the wainscot with as much indifference and negligence as if indulging himself on a sofa in a drawing room.

of counsel ; to which he answered, " whatever were your transactions previous to my acquaintance, I know not ; but certainly I never observed any thing improper in your conduct, nor did I until this unfortunate affair hear any thing to your disadvantage. But admitting you to be the vilest character upon earth, I am bound as a man and a christian to speak the truth, and I should consider myself highly culpable, if I withheld my testimony, when by giving it I might prevent an innocent man from losing his life. I am going to assert nothing but the truth, to do which can dishonour no man. I assure you I am too much impressed with a sense of your unfortunate situation to be otherwise than serious ; and I trust those who hear me will be perfectly satisfied, that I know my duty when giving testimony in a court of justice as well as when performing before an audience at a public theatre." These were his observations, and he fully verified them.

Mrs. GRIMALDI was next called, and confirmed the testimony of her husband in every particular.

Mr. Dauncey in his opening speech had mentioned that I kept houses of a certain description, and endeavoured to impress the minds of the jury with a belief that no credit was to be given to any witness who could visit or associate with me. He even said it was material to consider, whether I and my witnesses were not guilty of a foul conspiracy to defeat justice. In order to lessen the effect of Mr. and Mrs. Grimaldi's evidence, they were interrogated by the prosecutor's counsel as to their knowledge of my keeping disorderly houses, which they most positively and with truth

denied. They were then asked whether they did not know that I then stood indicted; but they were ignorant of this fact.*

In justice to Mr. Grimaldi I will shortly state the commencement and nature of our acquaintance. I saw him for the first time as a guest at my house at Hayes, where, from the attention I paid him and his friends, he visited me several times. Shortly after I came to London, I accidentally met him, and invited him and his wife to dine with me. The invitation was accepted and he in turn invited me and my wife to dine with him. Indeed the whole of our acquaintance consisted in several times mutually dining at each other's houses.

Mrs. GEORGE was next examined; and produced the book in which she herself entered the order I gave her on the 18th of March. She stated that she had no doubt whatever, that I gave her the order personally.

This witness was accompanied down to Stafford by a respectable solicitor, and, as they passed through Uttoxeter, they called at Chamberlain's, who they understood had ventured to say I was at his house on the 18th of March. Mrs. George, in her zeal for truth, and to prevent him from committing an error, shewed him her book, and told

* This conduct of the prosecutors convinces me that they were instrumental in the indictments against me for misdemeanors, conceiving my witnesses would be thereby deterred from coming forward, especially the females, or if they did appear to use the circumstance as an impeachment of their testimony.

him the circumstance of my giving the order. This the prosecutors would fain have interpreted into an attempt to suborn him to my interest. But the character of this good woman is too well known for her to be supposed capable of descending to commit perjury for any one, much less for me, of whom she had not the least knowledge, except occasionally giving her some trifling orders. Indeed the learned and humane judge not only completely defended her reputation from the insinuations of the prosecutors, but said that, satisfied as her mind must be, that Chamberlain had committed an error, her conduct was natural in endeavouring to set him right; and so strong an impression of my innocence did the evidence of these three persons make upon his lordship, that he expressed his opinion, that the witnesses for the prosecution had evidently made a mistake, and suggested to the counsel on that side, that it was useless to proceed further. They however whispered to the judge, and the investigation continued.

ANN THOMAS and Mr. HOPKINS were next examined. But as the evidence they gave is accurately stated in the affidavit, to repeat it here is unnecessary. The last of these witnesses was so satisfied of my being wrongfully accused that he consented to become one of my bail, although many entreaties were used to dissuade him. And so far from being a cobbler, as was represented, he is a respectable boot and shoemaker, who with his father have occupied successively one house in Wardour Street upwards of thirty years, the rent and taxes of which exceed seventy pounds per

annum. He is employed by many families of distinction, and is considered by all who know him an industrious, worthy, and respectable young man.

The learned Judge having indulged the prosecution to the utmost extent of his patience, and learning from my defence the facts which could be proved by Trott, desired he might be called, in order to put the matter beyond the possibility of doubt.

Jonathan Trott was accordingly examined. He detailed the circumstances attending the apprehension of Knight, and the discovery of the ten pound Wirksworth note in his pocket book.

His lordship then addressed the jury. He told them he conceived they must entertain the same opinion with himself, that the witnesses for the prosecution had mistaken me for the person who had committed the offences; and, if so, it would be unnecessary for him to sum up the evidence. The jury instantly expressed their concurrence with the opinion of his lordship, and, after a trial of nine hours, I was pronounced **NOT GUILTY!**

After thanking the court and jury for my acquittal, I repeated my solemn assurance that I neither directly nor indirectly, by collusion or otherwise, knew any thing of the offence with which I had been charged; and I am convinced the whole court believed my assertion.

The court was extremely crowded during my trial, and it was easy to perceive, throughout the prosecutor's case, that the opinion of the audi-

ence was against me. Indeed it could not be otherwise, considering the able speech of Mr. Dauncey, in which so high a colouring was given to every circumstance, that could, by any possibility, be urged to criminate me. And when the evidence of Radcliffe and Mary Banks was added to the rest, the success of the prosecutors appeared decisive, my destruction inevitable, and the countenances of certain gentlemen in the court betrayed their inward satisfaction at the accomplishment of their object. But how forcible is the simple unadorned language of truth! While I read my plain narrative of facts, conviction followed every paragraph, the most profound silence prevailed throughout, and inestimable tears of sympathy flowed from the eyes, adorned the features, and did honor to the hearts of many among the spectators. No sooner were two or three of my witnesses examined, than every one was astonished at the dreadful mistake made by the witnesses for the prosecution. And had the whole of their conduct been known, it would have excited indignation rather than astonishment.

How impotent now appeared the whole phalanx of my opponent! Their features were distorted by disappointment and vexation, their mortification was excessive: and as soon as the trial terminated, those who had been the most active agents in the prosecution hastened to leave the town.

Widely different was the treatment I now experienced from that which had been adopted toward me the preceding day. I was congratulated by persons of all ranks, and several of the jurymen came to my inn to express the pleasure they experienced in relieving me from my awful situation.

Some of the prosecutor's witnesses also joined in these congratulations, stated their abhorrence of the unjust measures used toward me, and from them I learnt several important circumstances.

In the first place one of these witnesses told me that, as soon as it was known I was arrived, and was in the street, Mary Banks and Radcliffe were taken to the window to look at me; that Mary Banks did not get to the window in sufficient time, and she was therefore taken into the gateway, by Miller; and my informant added, "If you had not been pointed out to these witnesses, I am satisfied they would not have known you."

During the examination of Mr. and Mrs. Grimaldi, young Miller was in the outer hall, taunting the rest of my witnesses. He said, "he should soon do away their evidence; and that, when he was called it would be all over with me*." When Mrs. Grimaldi came out of court, he personally insulted her, and showed by his behaviour that he was equally destitute of politeness as of humanity.

But his abuse was not confined to my witnesses only; those on the part of the prosecution were not spared, if they dared to act independently, or give evidence contrary to his wishes. He treated Mr. Cooper with great rudeness, after he had given his testimony, and accused him of perjury in not swearing to me, though, it will be re-

* As he was not called, I am ignorant what he intended to prove, but the whole of his conduct evinced his principles. Indeed I firmly hope, no man's life ever will depend upon his testimony. He has since been appointed Chief Superintendent of the Police at Liverpool a situation of some trust and confidence.

collected, he did not at Bow Street pretend to say he believed I was the man.

I also learnt that, which I confess, notwithstanding the many instances of persecution I had experienced, struck me with astonishment, namely, that the young man who in the character of Chetham's clerk, had been travelling round the country to search for witnesses, and arrange them for the day of trial, and who had been so extremely active in vilifying me, was no other than this same Miller, the son of Miller, a discarded Bow Street officer, and who, far from being Chetham's clerk, had never written a word in his office in his life.

I am really at a loss to account for the prosecutor's descending to so disgusting a mode of obtaining my conviction, or how any solicitor, with the least pretension to respectability, could be guilty of so mean an imposition, as to represent an underling at Bow Street as his clerk. Mr. Chetham has a clerk of his own; why not send him? or if he could not be spared, and it were necessary to employ any one to go round the country, why not have a respectable intelligent man, rather than an artful lad, who from his education and pursuits, was only skilled in every species of chicanery and wickedness? But it was for this very reason, perhaps, that he was selected.

The reader (even though not very skeptical) might well doubt the possibility of such proceedings. Several persons, to whom I mentioned them, would not give credit to the facts; and, to satisfy them, I caused a letter to be written to Mr. Cooper, as respectable a man as any of the

witnesses on the part of the prosecution. When examined, he was clerk in the banking house at Burton-upon-Trent, but has since become a principal. The following is his answer.

“ Sir,---Annexed you have an extract from Mr. Chetham’s letter, of the part which has reference to Miller, by which I was led to consider him as from Mr. Chetham’s office.

“ Whether my veracity or Miller’s is to be depended upon, those who know both of us, will not be at a loss to determine.

“ He certainly passed, with me at Stafford also for Mr. Chetham’s clerk, and officiated as such, and had the impudence to tell me bluntly, *that I was a perjured man, in refusing to say in court, what, he said, I had previously told him about my knowledge of Mackeoull.*

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your obedient Servant,

“ B. COOPER.”

Extract from Mr. James Chetham’s letter, of the 22d of July, 1807.

“ Sir,---The bearer, *a gentleman from our office*, will deliver this to you, and at the same time will feel obliged by your assisting him in the inquiries he has my instructions to make. As this is a case of very considerable magnitude and interest to the public at large, and bankers in particular; I am sure you will have the goodness to afford every assistance to further the object of such inquiries.”

The witnesses, I was told, were also occasionally entertained with a recital of the many wonderful prosecutions carried on by Mr. Chetham; the offences his ingenuity had brought to light; and the superior dexterity and sagacity by which he had convicted the offenders. It was said, he was solicitor for all the government boards; that the present received from them and the East India Company, for the great abilities he had displayed in various prosecutions, were without number; on some occasions pieces of plate, on others chests of tea, elegant curtains, &c. &c. a snuff box too, from which he condescended to permit them to take a pinch, was presented to him on a like occasion, and, in order to convince the witnesses of his great importance, they were told, he was from London merely on sufferance; and that he had experienced considerable difficulty in obtaining leave of absence from the East India Company in particular, as he was under an engagement with them not to leave town without permission of the directors.

Those who are acquainted with this gentleman will not be surprised at the above relation, indeed they will rather wonder he was so extremely modest, as he is known to possess extraordinary facility of invention, and every one, with whom he converses, has heard of the many very great and important transactions in which he is continually concerned.*

* The ridiculous ostentation and bragging of Mr. C. I am told, is proverbial among his acquaintance; but so far from his filling any important situation in the India Company's service, he is unknown to it, being engaged only by the law officer, as

Previous to my arrival at Stafford, it was frequently the subject of conversation, whether I would appear ; and considerable odds were offered in the presence of Mr. Kensington and his solicitor, that I would not. It was said I knew better than to risk my life for so trifling a recognizance ; that I was not such a block head as to come down, knowing I was guilty ; that I could not escape ; and if I did muster up boldness sufficient, it was only from a belief that my witnesses could get me off by perjury ; and though it will be recollected, that Mr. Kensington and Mr. Chetham saw me and my witnesses at Lichfield, which is only 17 miles from Stafford, and must have been satisfied I came there but for no other purpose but to meet the accusations, yet they never men-

agent to conduct the criminal prosecutions. The following extract from a letter received immediately after publishing the first edition of my Vindication, shews how accurately this gentleman's boasting conversation had been detailed. " On Thursday last I had the honor of dining in the same room with the great Mr. Chetham. I am certain he had not then read your publication, as he was amusing a client with his wonderful stories loud enough for me and every one present in the room to hear, and I could not resist taking out my pocket book two or three times to minute his conversation. "*You talk about dinners, if you wish to see one really sumptuous you should be with me at some of the East India Directors.*"—He then handed his snuff box to a gentleman who praised the perfume, "*that is real East India Otto.*" The time he was to meet his client the next morning was mentioned, "*I shall be sure to be ready. I shall not be in bed to night. I must be up engaged in the Company's business.*" The snuff box was again handed and admired by a gentleman in the room ; "*That, Sir, is a commissioner's box, a commissioner's present of the Stamp Office.*"

tioned this circumstance to their witnesses; and indeed several of these have since told me, that when they learnt I was arrived, they were really astonished, as from the conversation of the prosecutors, their solicitor, and his quondam clerk, they never for a moment expected me. There was great policy in this conduct of the prosecutors. It was intended to impress the minds of those, who had not yet seen me, with a conviction of my guilt; for every common observer of human life must know how very easily impressions are made, particularly upon young people in subordinate situations, who readily adopt the opinions of their superiors, and say what is likely to give them satisfaction. Such was the case of Mary Banks and Ratcliffe.

Notwithstanding the satisfactory manner in which my innocence had been established, I found, on my arrival in town, my acquittal attributed to base and unworthy means. It was said the apprehension of Knight was a mere trick; that Trptt was bribed to make an appearance of taking Knight into custody; that Grimaldi was no doubt well paid for perjuring himself; that others, of my witnesses were imposed upon to believe what was untrue, and were therefore mistaken in their evidence; that my defence was ingeniously contrived, but that its fallacy was apparent; and, had not Mr. Dauncey left the court, I should not have escaped; that in truth, I and my witnesses had conspired to defeat justice, and had succeeded. Even the learned and humane judge was not exempt from their slanderous observations. He was accused of want of

discernment in not discovering the conspiracy, and ridiculed for being so easily imposed upon.

If the circumstances I have already stated against Knight are not sufficient to refute the idea of a combination between him and me, there will be abundantly more hereafter detailed ; but I think the reader must already be perfectly well satisfied on that head ; and, as to Trott being bribed, I most solemnly declare he received no remuneration whatever, even for his trouble. And his being employed was merely accidental ; for until Mr. Harmer introduced him to me, as before mentioned, I never saw him : on being told the particulars of my case, he observed, that from my representations, it appeared Knight was the offender ; and therefore no exertions of his should be wanting to apprehend him ; that it would give him great pleasure, if he could serve the public and an innocent individual at the same time ; that he considered it equally the duty of a police officer to persevere in investigating truth to save an innocent man, as to be active in detecting and bringing the guilty to justice ; and that he was assured he should have the concurrence of the magistrates whom he had the honour to serve in so doing. I must for ever esteem the memory of a man, who not only asserted such liberal doctrines, but put them in practice ; and have only to regret that he died before I had it in my power to reward him.

The reputation of Mr. Grimaldi is so well established, that he cannot be affected by the gross slanders circulated respecting his evidence. He is well known to be incapable of a dishonourable

action, and, far from being paid to give false testimony, he was a loser of his salary for the time he was absent. It is true, I offered to pay him the amount, but he generously declined accepting it, saying he felt for the injuries I had suffered, and would not add to my distress by receiving a shilling.

The other subjects urged by my enemies appear to me undeserving an answer. That my witnesses could not be mistaken is evident from their entry of dates at the time, while the prosecutors show, that they entertain a very mean opinion of their other two counsel, who remained to conduct the prosecution ; nay, it is an insult to the jurisprudence of the country, to imagine, that a cause is not to be decided upon its merits, but that its fate depends on having this or that barrister to advocate it. As to the indelicate observation on Mr. Baron Graham, the impartial reader will, I am convinced, applaud his discernment, and be satisfied it was my opponents, that wished to impose upon his judgment.

My readers will recollect that Knight's examination was postponed till after my trial, at the express request of Mr. Kensington; it was but reasonable therefore to suppose, that he and his solicitor would attend at the time appointed, if not to prosecute Knight, at least from motives of curiosity, to see what became of him ; and, especially as they were so industrious in circulating, that he was a mere tool of mine, it was natural they would now wish to observe my conduct toward him. No such thing. Mr. Harmer and myself were there ;

but no Mr. Kensington, no Mr. Chetham appeared : Mr. Kensington was sent for, but he said he had nothing to do with the business : he did not cause Knight to be apprehended, and would not undertake to prosecute him. The worthy magistrate then sent a peremptory message, and he reluctantly came to the office ; but, when there, he repeated similar observations, till, after two or three farther examinations, the idea of prosecuting Knight for the forgery was given up. In short, he would have been discharged, had not a lace manufacturer, whom he and his associates had defrauded of a considerable quantity of lace, appeared against him, so that he was ordered to find bail to answer that charge.

Dudfield was also discharged ; for at this time nothing appeared against him but the possession of the £40 note, part of the produce of one of the forgeries, of which he refused to give any account ; and as Mr. Kensington withheld every information in his power from me and my solicitor, I could not trace any thing against him.

My enemies hearing that Knight was out of danger, were very industrious in circulating their former reports. It was said, that worthy magistrate, Mr. Turton, had been duped by my artifices, and thus rendered an instrument to assist my plans. Some of Trott's brother officers insinuated, that he was at the bottom of the conspiracy, and, that he was doubtless well paid for his trouble. These reports I have reason to believe came to the ears of Mr. Turton ; for he mentioned to Mr. Harmer, that he considered the justice of the country compromised by permitting the

matter to rest as it was ; and he could not but express his disapprobation, that, after all the trouble he had taken, and the great importance of the case, the charges should be dropped without any effort to bring them home to Knight, or to develop the suspicious appearances against him, and that he suspected all was not right.

Mr. Harmer said, he was sure I was ready, as far as my circumstances and exertions could go, to do whatever the magistrate should direct or think ought on my part to be done, and that he would desire me to attend at the office to learn his wishes. I accordingly waited upon Mr. Turton, who said, he thought some of the witnesses who had seen the offender in the country, should be brought to town to look at Knight, and that I should undertake to bear the expenses of their journey.

I must confess feeling somewhat chagrined at this proposition. Not that I impute any blame whatever to the worthy magistrate who suggested it ; he was naturally anxious, that a full investigation should be had, and the offender brought to justice ; but reduced already to extreme poverty by defending myself against so many serious charges, it was hard that I should be still farther impoverished by bringing up witnesses and prosecuting a case, where I had ceased to have any direct interest, particularly as those, whose business it really was, declined giving the least assistance ; and I might perhaps with great propriety upon these grounds have declined interfering. On the other hand, I considered, that by a refusal my calumniators would avail themselves of the circumstance, and urge it as a confirmation of their

statements : they would have said, " You see we were right ; he dare not proceed against his confederate ; he is afraid of investigation."

To prevent therefore these observations, and convince the world of my wish that every possible inquiry should take place, I consented to bear the travelling and other expenses of such witnesses as Mr. Turton should think right to send for : that magistrate immediately wrote Mr. Cooper to come to London ; in the mean time ordering Knight to be detained on suspicion of forgery, and requesting Mr. Harmer and me to exert ourselves in obtaining the attendance of such witnesses as resided in London, and could prove any thing material, to substantiate the charge.

No sooner was it known that the accusation was revived against Knight, than all possible means were used to deter me from persevering or rendering any assistance to bring home the charge. Anonymous letters were written me, in which I was told, that stolen bills or other property should be planted in my house or about my person, so that with all my cunning I should not be able to exonerate myself. Paragraphs were inserted in the different newspapers, cautioning bankers and merchants against the " fellow living in Throgmorton Street." People came into my neighbourhood, and by fabricated stories endeavoured to hold me up as a dangerous man, adding, that I ought not to be suffered to live there. Thus harassed and beset, I scarcely knew how to act, every day bringing new fears and terrors.

A confident of my enemies, feeling perhaps a momentary remorse, or ill used and irritated by

his employers, wrote me an anonymous letter, promising a disclosure of all the plans against me, of which he assured me there were many of a dangerous nature, if I would undertake to keep his name secret, and particularly advised me not to have any outside pockets, intimating that it was intended to put something stolen into them, and then cause me to be apprehended. The writer desired an answer to be laid upon the steps at the Bank door in Bartholomew Lane, at a particular hour in the evening ; I accordingly placed a letter as desired, which was taken away immediately. Whether he was reconciled to his associates, or afraid of reposing confidence in me, I know not ; but I never heard any more from him.

I will now proceed to detail the evidence given before Mr. Turton against Knight.

Mrs. CHARLOTTE ELYIDGE, of No. 9, Macclesfield Street, Soho, at whose house Knight had lodged, stated all the particulars described in page 122, relative to *Knight* and *Jeffries* frequently leaving toyn together in great haste, and their being absent at the very time these offences were committed. She also proved, that after Knight had quitted his lodgings without any notice whatever of his intentions, she received letters from him by the hands of either Weatherstone or the young woman whom he had seduced from her service, in which he expressed himself anxious, that his papers should remain in the state in which he left them, threatening her husband with an action if he entered the apartment or removed any of them, and that about seven weeks

after, he sent his girl to fetch away his papers, of which there was a considerable quantity.

Mrs. GATTENBY of Oxford Street, proved all the circumstances, which she had related to Mrs. Mackcoull, as stated in page 126, as to Knight, and his girl lodging with her by the name of Hope: She stated that they were so extremely poor in the beginning of March, as to apply to her for trifling sums, even a few pence to purchase the necessaries of life: that he went out of town a few days before quarter day, leaving the young woman and child completely destitute; but that he returned with a great quantity of bank notes, which she saw in his possession, and he desired her to make out her bill; she did so, when he immediately paid it, and she gave him a receipt*.

She likewise proved his mysterious conduct in leaving his girl a second time; after which he did not return, though Weatherstone had made innumerable appointments for his arrival, and said she had frequently sat up till a late hour expecting him.

It has been already stated, that Knight, almost immediately after his apprehension, pretended to have lost his voice, distorted his countenance to avoid being recognized, and during the whole time of being in custody, practised every possible device to alter his appearance. Indeed the contrivances he resorted to are almost incredible. The following are some of them. He took only as much

* The bill and receipt were found in Knight's trunk, and the date corresponded with the time, when he might reasonably be supposed to have arrived in London after committing the offences.

sustenance as was sufficient to preserve life; cut off his hair, and applied bandages so tight across the upper part of his face, as to occasion considerable swellings and discoloration: he permitted his beard and whiskers to grow very long, wore a night cap very much over his face, always sat in a dark corner of the room with his back to the light, and was observed, whenever strangers entered, to be unusually careful in concealing and distorting his features. By these means, and particularly by uniformly abstaining from sufficient food, he brought himself to such a state of debility, that he scarcely appeared the same man; in short he left nothing untried, that was likely to alter his person, and prevent his being known; so that it would certainly not have been matter of surprize, had no one been able to swear to him.

On the arrival of Mr. Cooper in town, Knight was told that he must be shaved, as he was going up for examination. But he answered, "he should not; that his face was his own, and he would do as he liked with it." Learning, however, that the magistrate would insist upon his beard being taken off, he submitted.

When brought to the office he was led in supported by two men, and, appearing too weak to stand he was permitted to sit at the bar in a chair; yet, notwithstanding the alteration in his appearance, no sooner did Mr. Cooper see him, than he was struck with the prisoner's countenance, and thought he was the man; but, having as he said, noticed the peculiar formation of the person's teeth and gums, he wished to see those of the

prisoner. Knight was therefore desired to open his mouth, which he declining to do, Trott forced it open in the office, and Mr. Cooper, observing that both his teeth and gums exactly corresponded, without hesitation swore, that he verily believed him to be the man for whom he had discounted the bill, and who went by the name of Warren.

In the course of my inquiries, I was told, that a person of the name of Hardyman had known Knight to go by the name of Warren. I therefore caused him to be summoned to attend before the magistrate. When Hardyman came, he immediately recognized Knight, and stated that he had frequently seen him perform the characters of Othello, Hamlet, Richard, &c. many years since at Salisbury; that he was considered in the country as a second Roscius; *his name was printed in the hand bills as WARREN*, and he was always so called; that he took in a great many people by contracting debts which he never paid, and himself amongst others had been duped; that some years afterwards, meeting Knight in London, he accosted him as *Warren*, to which he answered; and on being reminded that he owed the witness a debt, he actually paid half a guinea in part.

Mr. Cooper was present at the time Mr. Hardyman was giving his evidence, and on hearing him mention Salisbury as the place where Knight performed under the name of Warren, it brought to his recollection a circumstance he had never before mentioned, namely, that at the time he discounted the bill, he asked the person for his name and address, which he gave, "J. Warren,

Salisbury :” and Mr. Cooper said he believed he had preserved the memorandum. He accordingly wrote into the country for the file to be looked over, when it being found and sent up, appeared exactly as Mr. Cooper had represented. This added a strong feature in the case against Knight.

Mr. Turton having succeeded thus far, thought it advisable to have some of the other witnesses from the country. Chamberlain and his maid Mary Banks were accordingly sent for, and upon their arrival an examination was appointed.

RICHARD CHAMBERLAIN, on seeing Knight said he could not undertake to speak to him, but on Trott producing the pocket-book, in which was the £10 note on the Wirksworth bank, Chamberlain said, *that was the identical pocket book he saw in the possession of the man at his house, whom he took for me : that he noticed the book particularly, and as this exactly corresponded, he had no doubt, it was the same.*

MARY BANKS, immediately on seeing Knight, recognized him, and notwithstanding his grimaces and the alterations he had made in his appearance, swore, she believed him to be one of the men she waited upon at her master’s on the 17th of March ; but, having so incautiously sworn to me at Stafford, she appeared anxious to justify herself, and therefore, to avoid inconsistency or contradiction, said, I was the other man who was in company with him.

I cannot help thinking, this young woman must, the instant she saw Knight, have been conscious of her former error in identifying me ; but was afraid of acknowledging it. For all the witnesses

agreed in describing the two men in the country committing these offences as of very different stature and appearance; the one being short and resembling me, the other a tall stout man like a farmer or coachmaster, looking as if he drank hard; whereas if she was correct, the men must have been nearly of a size and very like each other.

From the description of the witnesses, the prosecutors thought the larger man was Treble; but in this they were mistaken: for the circumstances, which I shall hereafter state, will clearly show he was no other than Dudfield.

JONATHAN TROTT proved all the circumstances attending the apprehension of Knight and Weatherstone; but as the particulars have been before fully related, it is unnecessary here to repeat them. He produced the wigs, the letters, the pocket book, and the £10 Wirksworth note found on Knight. This note, it will be recollected, Mr. Smedley proved was one of those he gave the man who called himself J. Warren.

Pending these examinations, information was given to Trott, that Knight had still concealed about him a considerable quantity of bank notes. He therefore went to the prison, and asked Knight whether he had any notes or property in his possession, which he positively denied. Trott searched very minutely for some time without success: but, just as he was about to leave him, he discovered secreted in Knight's neck handkerchief several bank notes. The numbers were given to Mr. Kensington, and the circumstances under which they were found described. Whether that gentleman gave himself the trouble to

make any inquiry to trace them I know not : but he never communicated any thing on the subject either to Mr. Harmer or the magistrate ; and the reader will perceive, that as I was perfectly unacquainted with the notes given for the forged bills, it was quite impossible for me to attempt tracing the notes found on Knight, so as to connect them with the transaction.

Trott also found secreted in Knight's apartment a camel hair pencil and a phial containing black liquid, which had doubtless been used by Knight in painting his eyebrows and whiskers, as they were observed to be much darker than at the time of his apprehension. These circumstances were proved by Trott in addition to those above stated.

Mr. THOMAS WEBBE, surgeon to the House of Correction and New Prison, proved the many artifices Knight had to his knowledge practised to disguise himself. At the very time this gentleman was giving his evidence, Knight's complexion appeared of a yellow hue, similar to that caused by the jaundice ; his eyes were closed, his mouth open, and his tongue hanging out : so that his whole appearance was ghastly in the extreme. Indeed he looked like a corpse ; and many of the auditors thought he was at the point of death : but on Mr. Webbe suggesting to the magistrate, that the colour of Knight's skin was unnatural, and that, as he had no disease which could produce such an alteration in his complexion, he believed it to be purposely discoloured, Mr. Turton requested him to examine the skin, and satisfy himself, whether or not his suspicions were well founded.

A white handkerchief was accordingly wetted, and Mr. Webbe in the presence of the magistrate and every one in the office, to their very great astonishment, wiped from Knight's face a yellow wash or composition, with which it was covered. This circumstance, therefore, was added to Mr. Webbe's deposition.

Such was the whole evidence I was able to collect against Knight, but which I think must be considered by every impartial mind, as most satisfactory and conclusive of his guilt. His final examination, however, was postponed until the clerk who made up the parcel, and those who forwarded it to the mail, should arrive in London.

The moment I was satisfied that Knight had committed the offences, I suspected Dudfield to be his associate, because I knew he was his employer, and would not trust him alone with so large an amount. Besides the person of Dudfield exactly corresponded with the description given by the witnesses in the country, who had seen him; and my suspicion was strongly confirmed by his conduct when apprehended and confronted with Knight in the office at Hatton Garden, as well as by his refusal to account for the £40 note, the produce of one of the forgeries, which was traced to his hands.

But my suspicions soon gave place to absolute certainty. I satisfactorily ascertained that Dudfield was out of town from the *15th to the 23d of March*, the very time the bills were negotiated: that Hannah Lyons the Jewess, with whom he lived, (doubtless knowing his dangerous errand,) was in great anxiety during the last day or two of

his absence ; and that he returned with considerable property, which soon dissipated her grief ; but from Mrs. Elvidge I learnt that which was conclusively demonstrative to my mind ; namely, that *Mr. Jefferies*, the great purchaser of estates, *he* who so frequently left London in haste with *Knight*, lest any other person should be before-hand with them in buying falls of timber, estates, &c. and who quitted London a few days before quarter day, in company with *Knight*, that this same *Mr. Jefferies* and *Thomas Dudfield* were one and the same person.

Mr. Dudfield then was the *Mr. Jeff's* so frequently mentioned in *Knight's* letters, and the great interest which *Mr. Jeff's* took in providing for the safety of his *squire* is accounted for. He was apprehensive, that if one should be taken into custody, the other would most likely be involved. And it was to avoid *Knight's* being even sought after, that *Hannah Lyons* gave out he was gone to America.

The suspicions against *Dudfield* were mentioned to *Mr. Turton*, when *Chamberlain* and *Mary Banks* were in London ; and the magistrates, wishing that they might see him, directed that he should be apprehended and brought to the office ; but he was sought for in vain. He could nowhere be found while *Chamberlain* and his maid were in London ; but immediately after they returned into the country, he was again visible.

I am at no loss to account for *Dudfield's* absence. One of the officers of *Hatton Garden* was observed frequently in company with *Knight's* girl,

and I soon discovered that he and one or two more, with whom he acted, visited Durdfield. I have reason therefore to believe, they communicated every thing relative to him that transpired in the office.

I cannot help suspecting, that Durdfield prevailed upon these officers to make a most diabolical attempt to get me charged with some offence : and this from the following circumstance. I received a letter from the clerk at Hatton Garden office requesting my attendance, as Mr. Turton wanted me. I accordingly went, and after waiting some time in the outer office, the clerk came, and in a cautious whisper informed me, that several persons were attending to look at me, and say whether I was the person who paid away some forged bills, advising me, if I was afraid of any such charge, to go away while I had it in my power.

I know not whether this intimation proceeded from feeling and humanity, or merely from a wish to try whether I was conscious of guilt in any transactions of the nature attributed to me. However that be, I thanked him for his kindness, and observed that I had nothing to fear from any honest man ; that I had injured no person in existence, and was therefore ready to meet any investigation whatever ; but that, as I understood the magistrate wished to see me, I should wait his pleasure.

Several persons attended by Chapman and another officer, soon after came and looked at me, whispered together, and then went into the magistrate's room. A few minutes after, the clerk came and told me Mr. Turton did not wish to see me

that day, but would send me word when he wanted me.

As I was returning down Hatton Garden, I met Trott, and informed him what had occurred, expressing my surprise that Mr. Turton had not chosen to see me. Trott answered, that it was not Mr. Turton's day, and that he did not think I was sent for by him.

I had no sooner parted from Trott, than I perceived the officers going into the Horse-shoe and Magpie public-house, in company with several of Dudfield's associates, whom I had seen at the office. I watched the house for some time, in order, if possible, to collect some information of what was doing, and in a little while Chapman came out: I crossed the way to him, and asked, whether he could inform me, for what purpose I was sent for to the office. He appeared a good deal confused at my question, and the manner in which I put it; and, pretending to be in haste, left me abruptly.

I immediately went to Mr. Harmer, and communicated what had transpired; but notwithstanding our inquiries, nothing was ever explained: nor do I even at this time, know why I was sent for or at whose instance.

I cannot omit here mentioning an instance of Mr. Chetham's illiberality, which shows the spirit of persecution by which I was pursued. Intending to take my trial on the indictments for the houses, notices were served, and every thing prepared. But it unfortunately happened, that the sessions commenced the same day as was appoint-

ed by the magistrate for Knight's final examination, which I was summoned to attend. My solicitor, therefore, waited on the managing clerk, who conducted the prosecution; informed him how I was circumstanced, and requested he would permit the recognizances to be respited till the following sessions. He answered, that if the costs of the day were paid by me, he dared to say there would be no objection. My solicitor, knowing my anxiety to be present at Knight's examination, undertook to do so; and it was understood, that, in order to lessen those expenses, the prosecutor's witnesses were not to be subpoenaed: but I was much surprised afterwards to learn that they were all served, and ordered to attend: and my solicitor also was told, that if he wished the recognizances respited, the court must be moved in the regular way.

On the Monday between ten and eleven o'clock, I went to the session to make affidavit of my being summoned to attend Knight's examination on that day; the summons was annexed to the affidavit, and Mr. Bolland, the counsel, moved the court, while I was there, to respite the recognizance; but he was desired to mention it when the cause came in turn on the list. I and my solicitor then staid till near the time appointed for Knight's examination, when the court not having got to our cause, the affidavit was left with Mr. Bolland, and we proceeded to Hatton Garden. On our arrival there, Mr. Turton informed us, that he had received a note from Mr. Chetham, saying Mr. Kensington wished the

final examination might be put off till the following Thursday, to give the witnesses, who would then be in London on the trial of Treble, an opportunity of attending, and that he was then writing to say, that Mr. Kensington's request should be complied with.

During the time my solicitor was in court he stood by the side of Mr. Chetham, but the latter never mentioned a word of his having applied to put off Knight's examination, and both my solicitor and myself were entirely ignorant, that any postponement was intended, till we arrived at the office.

On our return to the court, we found the motion to respite had been made, but refused by the court, and my recognizances ordered to be estreated. Upon inquiry I learnt that to Mr. Chetham's interference I was chiefly indebted for this proceeding; for when my affidavit was read, alleging the necessity of my attending at Hatton Garden, he stated, that the examination was postponed, and insinuated that I was apprised of it. My application appeared therefore a trick to impose on the court, and fresh process was issued to take me into custody.

Had Mr. Chetham acted with common civility, he would have mentioned to Mr. Harmer, what he had done; not have waited till his back was turned, and then by misrepresentation endeavoured to excite an unfavourable impression against me. He must have well known, that I was unacquainted with his application; nay, at the very time he was asserting that the examination was put off, he was not sure of the fact; for Mr. Tur-

ton was only writing his consent when we reached the office.

As the final examination was postponed at the express desire of Mr. Kensington and his solicitor, it would of course be expected that they attended at the appointed time, and brought with them the witnesses they promised. Not so however was the fact; for on the next examination Mr. Chetham came down and told the magistrate, that neither he nor Mr. Kensington had any thing to do with the business, and should not therefore bring forward the witnesses; but that he might summon them if he thought proper, and for that purpose told him where they were.

These witnesses (who merely proved the packing up of the bills, and placing the parcel in the mail) were therefore sent for by Mr. Turton, and together with Mr. Kensington, and those whose depositions have been before mentioned, bound over to give evidence against Knight at the then next Assizes for Stafford, while I, who was in no way whatever interested, and who could not even give evidence of any material fact, was at the same time bound in a recognizance of no less than two hundred pounds to *prosecute him*.

I have been told, that the magistrate was induced to impose so heavy a recognizance upon me in consequence of the suggestions of those who had been my prosecutors. They represented that I had no intention to persevere against Knight, though I then appeared so assiduous: indeed that I dare not, as we must be connected together; and they suspected, we could either of us hang the other: that after proceeding to a certain ex-

tent, I should take care to insure his safety, lest he should recriminate, and that they had no idea I should venture even to go the length of appearing at Stafford.

The exertions I had made, the unremitting industry I had manifested, and the great sums of money I had expended to apprehend and bring home the guilt to Knight*, are surely sufficient to refute these illiberal and unjust insinuations. But the reader will perceive that my exertions were afterwards rather increased than diminished, and that only perhaps to the misconduct of those who made these remarks, Knight was subsequently indebted for his escape.

I believe it has hitherto escaped me to mention, that, when Dudfield was in custody, he sent Henry Lee, of the Antigallican, Temple Bar, to solicit me not to oppose his discharge, and also to threaten, that if I gave him any trouble I should repent it, as he would find means to retaliate, and could certainly *do for me*. This threat was communicated to the magistrate, and it was in contemplation to take legal proceedings against Dudfield; which I should have instituted, had the threat been repeated.

Some time after this, Henry Lee and Dudfield quarrelled; the latter treating the former and the whole of his family in a most outrageous and shameful manner, till at length, Lee considering that he was not bound to keep any terms with a man who used him so ill, came and communicated to me all

* The bare travelling expences I was called on to pay Messrs. Cooper and Chamberlain amounted nearly to forty pounds.

the particulars that had come to his knowledge respecting Dudfield and Knight ; from him I learnt not only that Dudfield had intrusted him with the secret of his being with Knight at the time he negotiated the stolen bills, but that Dudfield actually deposited the remainder of the notes for some time with Lee. These, he said, had been in the care of Samuel Goodman, the man who drove the Hastings coach, and who had placed them with a relation of his at Farnborough. But Dudfield was alarmed lest Goodman should be apprehended, and from fear disclose the secret. He therefore desired to have them returned, and as Goodman would not bring the parcel through the streets, young Dudfield met the coach at the Bricklayer's Arms, and received it.

When Dudfield gave Lee the packet containing these notes, &c. he begged him for God's sake to be careful of them, as they might be the means of saving his life. For, should he be in danger, he might by giving them up, and making restitution to the bankers, avoid prosecution. Besides this, when Dudfield was in custody, he informed Lee, that a bale of goods, purchased with either some of the stolen notes or their produce, was traced to the Three Nuns Inn, Whitechapel : and that as he was the man who took the bale away, he begged Lee to go to the waiter and prevent him from coming to Hatton Garden office, saying he was afraid he would identify him, and he should be hanged. Lee informed me, that he went to the waiter, to whom he was known, and prevailed upon him to deny any knowledge of the person who took the bale from the inn.

Dudfield seems at this time to have been on the point of applying to the prosecutors, to propose disclosing the whole of the business; for he told Lee that he did not see why he should run much risk. He had provided a retreat for Knight, and, if he had gone there, all would have been safe; but, if he chose to be such a damned fool as to keep where he was, after being advised of the danger, he ought to take the consequence: and on Lee's observing, that if he became a witness for the crown, and acknowledged the part he had taken, he could not afterwards reside in London, Dudfield answered, that he had enough to make him and his old duchess comfortable, and he could therefore live at one place as well as another.

I also learnt from Lee, that he had, at Dudfield's desire, waited on Jonathan Trott, to sound his principles, and by insinuating that no money should be wanting, try if he could bring him over to Dudfield's interest; but Trott was too honest to be bribed to act contrary to his duty, and Lee, finding him adverse to the proposed measure, desisted from importuning him.

Lee also informed me, that Hannah Lyons had frequently expressed great uneasiness, lest Knight should disclose his transactions with her and Dudfield; at the same time observing it would be a good thing if I was hanged or got rid of: for then no person could afterwards swear to Knight, and he and Dudfield would be safe.

Many other of Dudfield's nefarious transactions were communicated to me; but as they are irrelevant to the offences with which I was charged,

and also to my justification, to relate them would perhaps appear vindictive. It should however be stated, that the moment Dudfield found Lee was visiting me, he suspected the object, and immediately commenced against him and his family such a system of legal oppression, as would astonish any one unacquainted with the extent to which a bold and rich villain may proceed with impunity, against a man, who has not money to defend himself, or prosecute his oppressor.

In the first place he arrested Lee for a hundred pounds and upwards, and, when notice of bail was given, Dudfield went himself and deterred the bail from coming forward, either by vilifying Lee, and saying he would abscond, or by openly and grossly abusing the bail. When however others were procured, who were not to be prevented by these means, so that Lee obtained his liberty, Hannah Lyons arrested him: and similar manœuvres were played till he procured his discharge. He was then again arrested by Dudfield, and obliged to go in the King's Bench at his suit. But notwithstanding all these actions, affidavits of debt, &c. I do not believe he was indebted either to Dudfield or his infamous Jewess a single shilling.

Dudfield was not satisfied with actions alone; but, as his premises joined those of Lee, he continually annoyed and insulted him and his family, till after ill-using them all, he had the impudence to cause his son to indict them for an assault, in which not only the whole family were included, but also Henry Creed, a neighbour, who merely happened to see the transaction, and might other-

wise have been an evidence. But when the indictment came on for trial, neither Dudfield nor his son would venture to give evidence. The defendants were of course acquitted.

To assist him in his legal or rather illegal proceedings, Dudfield employs one Alexander M^cClatchie, of infamous notoriety. This fellow, in the year 1800, *if his own account be true*, prepared a false affidavit, which some other person was hired to swear; to prevent one John Hathaway, a bankrupt, from obtaining his certificate. He used this affidavit, as if it had been regularly sworn by himself, together with several others, which he says were to his knowledge false. He some years afterwards disclosed this scene of iniquity, and was admitted a witness against those, by whom he said he had been employed; and in an open court of justice, unblushingly related the foregoing particulars, together with many others equally infamous.

M^cClatchie is not upon the roll of attornies; but contrives to practise in the name of some one who is, and therefore carries on his diabolical oppressions with impunity, as he is not liable to be called to account and punished in a summary way by the judges. The reader being now acquainted with the characters of Dudfield and his assistant, will not be surprised to learn, that Lee was persecuted by them to absolute ruin: for no sooner did he get rid of one indictment than another was preferred. At this very time a prosecution against him for perjury is depending, which notwithstanding Lee repeatedly gave notice of trial and attended for the purpose, the prosecutors always

applied to postpone it, and at last removed the indictment into the King's Bench, where it has remained a long time dormant, and the witnesses on the back of the bill are Thomas Dudfield, Alexander M'Clatchie, William Henry Hudson, and Thomas Dunch.

Of these last witnesses Lee has no knowledge whatever; but suspects, and with great reason, that they are some of M'Clatchie's gang, hired to swear whatever he may dictate. It is hoped the reader will excuse this digression, and I will now return to my narrative of the proceedings against Knight.

Shortly before the assizes, as Mr. Kensington had not made any communication to my solicitor, and as I was from poverty but ill able to bear the heavy expenses which must necessarily be advanced in carrying on the prosecution, Mr. Harmer wrote to Mr. Kensington the following letter.

"Sir,

As the Assizes are drawing near, at which Knight is to be tried for the forgery, of which Mackcoull was accused, and as I conceive your house materially interested in the investigation, I take the liberty of addressing you upon the subject.

"You will permit me to bring to your recollection, that, after I had with considerable perseverance and minute inquiries obtained very strong reasons for suspecting Knight to be the man for whom Mackcoull had been mistaken, and to have committed all the offences, with which the latter stood charged; I mentioned to you the par-

particulars I had learnt, and you then said, if there was such a man, and he could be found, you would willingly prosecute him; but that you doubted whether such a man existed, as you had received only anonymous information against him, and the Bow Street officers on inquiry could not find any such person.

"In a few days after, however, Knight was apprehended, and, to confirm the suspicions against him, one of the identical notes, which had been given for one of the forged bills, was found in his possession, and he could give no reasonable or credible account how he became possessed of it: but notwithstanding this, the prosecutions against Mackcoull were proceeded in, and he was under the necessity of appearing at Stafford to take his trial.

"The chief motive which urged Mackcoull to the extraordinary exertions he made to trace out Knight, was to prevent his own life being put in jeopardy upon the accusations against him, and to save the enormous expenses, which his defence at so considerable a distance from London would necessarily incur. Therefore, after he had taken his trial, it became almost a matter of indifference to him, what became of Knight; and as he had expended almost the last shilling he possessed in his own defence, he was by no means in a situation to bring forward the necessary witnesses to identify Knight; but upon the magistrates intimating a wish, that the business should be further investigated, and that the persons who had seen the offender in the country should be brought to town, and you having declined being at the ex-

pense of so doing, Mackcoull, though very much embarrassed, undertook to pay it, and he is now under an engagement to defray that expense to the amount of from thirty to forty pounds.

"The witnesses having established, that the suspicions against Knight were well founded, the magistrates thought it their duty to commit him for trial, and Mackcoull was bound over to prosecute.

"I confess, that I cannot discover the reason for making Mackcoull the prosecutor, unless the supineness and backwardness of the persons interested in prosecuting, induced the magistrates to believe, that no prosecution would be carried on, or at least that it would not be carried on with any view or wish to convict.

"You must be well aware, that a prosecution of this nature cannot be conducted, with any prospect of success, without some exertions, some arrangement, and considerable expense; and Mackcoull having been drained of the very little property he possessed, in defending himself against the indictments at Stafford, and a more recent prosecution in London*, he cannot furnish the money

* Mr. Harmer here alluded to the prosecutions against me for the misdemeanor on which I had been found guilty of keeping a *Disorderly House*, though all the witnesses for the prosecution who lived in the neighbourhood, admitted that they never heard any disturbance or observed any impropriety of conduct. But to obtain a conviction one George Adams, well known on the town and in the courts of law, with a most abandoned woman named Lucy Wilson, were brought forward, and I was sentenced to a month's imprisonment and to pay a fine of £50. At the expiration of the term, having petitioned the sheriffs to

that is necessary. I am therefore induced to make the present application to solicit the requisite pecuniary advances, which I trust you will comply with, as from the very great interest you evinced in the prosecution against Mackcoull, you must be anxious to discover and bring to justice those who were concerned in negotiating the stolen bills; and all that is solicited is the money which will be absolutely paid out of pocket.

“ Another request I have to make is, that you will condescend to give me all the information you are possessed of, as to the route of the parties who committed the offences, the houses they stopped at, the persons by whom they were seen, a description of all the bills that were negotiated, and the places where discounted: likewise the anonymous letter which you received respecting Knight: as from these I may pro-

remit the fine, I received their positive assurance, that thirty pounds should be returned to me when they settled their accounts, and that the other twenty should be placed to the sheriff's fund, as they considered the sentence to be very severe, and would not therefore take a shilling of the fine to themselves. I have several times waited on the sheriffs for the performance of this promise, but received only abuse. Indeed Sir Richard Phillips said, I might think myself very well off not to have been indicted, together with Mr. Turton the magistrate and several others, for a conspiracy in prosecuting Knight, who was an innocent ill-used man. Sir Richard, I perceive, makes some allusions to Knight's case in his “ Letter to the Livery of London;” but whatever may be Sir Richard's opinion of Knight I do not believe any other man can be found who will assert his innocence, after reading the facts here disclosed; unless indeed it be Mr. Kensington.

bably get material evidence for the approaching trial.

"The informations against Knight have already been laid before Mr. Glead, with whom I have had a consultation; and if you are desirous of an interview with him previous to his leaving town, which will be on Sunday morning next, and wish that I should attend you, I shall be very ready and happy so to do. Requesting your answer,

I am, Sir,

St. John's Square, Your very humble servant,
5th March, 1808. JAMES HARMER."

Mr. Kensington hastily read this letter in the presence of the messenger, then said that he had already expended money enough, and would not pay a shilling more, that he should consider the other subject, but at present there was no answer.

Mr. Harmer waited some days expecting a written answer; instead of which a notice was served upon him by Mr. Chetham, intimating that an application would be made at Derby to respite my recognizance till the next assizes. Thus the charge in that county was to be kept suspended over me for several months longer.

Although Mr. Kensington did not condescend to take any notice of Mr. Harmer's application, yet a hope was indulged that he would at least attend to any suggestion of the magistrate. Mr. Turton was therefore applied to, and as he thought Mr. Kensington ought to assist in the prosecution; he requested his attendance to recommend his so doing. But instead of Mr. Kensington Mr. Chetham came, and requested to have in writing what was desired: the following items were

accordingly enumerated. One half the expenses out of pocket; the route of the parties who committed the offences; a particular description of their persons; the houses they stopped at; the names of all those who saw them; a description of the bills negotiated; particulars of the notes or bills given for those discounted; which of them have been traced, and to whom; the anonymous letters sent to Mr. Kensington, or copies of them: the names and residences of the persons brought to see me at the Public Office, Bow Street, who said they knew nothing of me; and generally any other information of which Mr. Kensington or his solicitor were possessed.

About a week after, Mr. Harmer received a letter from Mr. Chetham inclosing a copy of one from Mr. Kensington to him, in which the latter said, the demand for money was unintelligible, after the positive and decided answer he had before given to Mr. Harmer. That among the witnesses there were only two that did not distinctly recognise me, namely, Mr. Robert Harlow and Mr. Edward Sims, both of Ashborne in Derbyshire*: copies of the anonymous letters were likewise given, but nothing was said as to the route of the parties, their descriptions, or the other particulars required.

Mr. Harmer was now satisfied, that neither Mr. Kensington nor his solicitor would assist us with any materials to prove Knight's guilt, and

* Both these gentlemen dined at the same table with the offenders at the Red Lion, Wirksworth.

it was therefore determined to use our best exertions to bring him to justice without their aid.

All the witnesses who had been examined were written to by order of the magistrate, to remind them of their recognizances, and to desire their attendance at Stafford on the day of the assizes. I myself provided places for those who resided in London, and engaged to pay all their expenses.

Mr. Smedley sent a letter to the clerk at Hatton Garden, saying, he was surprised at his attendance being required at Stafford, that he was not bound over, and should not attend. Why was this gentleman so anxious to avoid appearing against Knight, since he had expressed no such unwillingness to come forward against me? Was it because he saw how repugnant these proceedings would prove to the feelings of Mr. Kensington, and wished therefore not to give that gentleman offence? Or was it that he felt a consciousness of having before done me injustice, and now trembled for his own reputation, which, if Knight were convicted, would be assailable for having inconsiderately and imprudently fixed upon me as the offender? These queries his own conscience can alone answer; but the reader will decide whether in either case his conduct is entirely reconcilable with perfect rectitude.

In order that Smedley, who was a most important witness, might have no excuse, it was determined to subpœna him, though it was believed he was bound over: a subpœna was accordingly sent to an attorney in the country to serve on him; and on Messrs. Harlow and Sims.

A day or two previous to the assizes, Mr. Har-

mer with the witnesses and myself, proceeded to Stafford; where we found Mr. Harlow and Mr. Sims, but no Mr. Smedley: for though he was served with the subpœna, it appears, he refused to obey it, unless he received an exorbitant sum to defray his expenses.

Mr. Harmer would not at first believe that Smedley would dare act thus contumaciously in open disobedience to the process of his Majesty's court of King's Bench; but he at length found that Smedley intended to keep his word: for the first two days of the assizes passed without his appearing. Mr. Harmer therefore determined to take postchaise and with a fresh subpœna go to Wirksworth, a distance of thirty-five miles, again to serve it himself on Smedley, so as if possible to compel his attendance: and, at my request, I accompanied him.

The first stage being Uttoxeter, we desired the postboy to change horses at the White Hart, Chamberlain's house, that we might have an opportunity of seeing and conversing with any persons there, who had seen the men. We found here a lady who turned out to be Mr. Chamberlain's sister, and a servant girl named Sophia Whitby, who had waited upon the offenders: we entered into conversation, and after some time told them that I was the person accused and spoken to by Chamberlain and Mary Banks; at which they expressed great surprise. Chamberlain's sister however gave Mary Banks a very indifferent character, stating that neither herself nor her brother had any idea of her being a witness: that she was

turned away from their house soon after the men were there ; but, when Miller came down, he found her out, and took her to Stafford. In a subsequent conversation I had with Chamberlain he made the same assertion.

On our arrival at Wirksworth, Mr. Harmer went immediately to the house of Messrs. Arkwright and Toplis, and, finding Smedley, served him with a subpœna. He said, however, he would not attend unless he were paid ; but after being informed by Mr. Harmer, that he was bound to attend without receiving any thing, and apprised of the dangerous consequence of refusing to obey the process of the court, he consented to accompany us next morning in the chaise.

Mr. Harmer also informed Mr. Toplis, I was in Wirksworth, and, if he pleased to give me an interview, I would immediately wait upon him. He consented, and, when I saw him, behaved very politely, but said, as he had not seen either of the men, he could not himself be useful in the present prosecution ; adding that Smedley, however, should certainly attend.

Mr. Harmer, anxious for my justification, and also to convince Smedley of his error, asked him who were the people that had seen the men ; saying he would thank him for their names, that I might go and let them satisfy themselves of my guilt or innocence ; to which Smedley replied, *there was not one in Wirksworth who knew any thing about it.* This very much surprised Mr. Harmer, who inquired at what inn they put up, observing, that surely some of the people belonging to it must have

waited upon and seen them. Smedley told him the inn, but said the people who then kept it were gone away.

The inn he mentioned happened to be that at which we put up. On our return, therefore, we entered into conversation with the man, who attended us, respecting the forgery, and asked him if he knew any thing about it. He said, he did not happen to be at home the day the men were at the house, as he had gone to Derby to see an execution; but that a Mr. Walker who kept the Crown public house just by, supplied his place during his absence, and waited upon the gentlemen at dinner; that an old man named Woodhouse had carried a portmanteau for them to Matlock, about three miles distant, when they went away; and he could in a few minutes fetch him. We desired he would, and on his arrival I put a few questions respecting the men, and his recollection of their persons. He said it was so long since, that he could not tell whether he should be able to speak to them now, if he saw them; but if he had seen the little man shortly after, he had no doubt he could have identified him, as he had a good deal of conversation with him; that he was nearly my height, but not so lusty; and his shoulders very broad compared to the size of his waist; that he talked very much, and was smart and upright in his gait. I asked whether he thought I was the man. He said no; that was impossible. And when told that I was the person accused and tried, the poor old man held up his hands, and appeared struck with amazement.

Mr. Harmer and myself then went to Mr. Walker, and asked him, whether he remembered seeing the two men who negotiated the stolen note at Messrs. Arkwright and Co.'s bank. He said he did, and described them just as the old man had done. We asked if he had heard of any person having been in custody for the offence. He said, yes, he had ; but did not go over to Stafford at the time the man was tried. When Mr. Harmer told him I was the person, he appeared much astonished, said he was surprised any one could make such a mistake as to accuse me, and added that he could with a safe and good conscience swear positively I was not one of the men : for my voice was so singular, that he should be able to know it from any other man's ; that he thought he should know the men again ; but as it was a year ago, he should wish to be cautious, particularly where a man's life was at stake. When told Mr. Smedley had declared, there was no one in the town that could say any thing about the men, Mr. Walker expressed himself much surprised at such an assertion, as Smedley well knew he had waited upon them at dinner, and heard a great deal of their conversation, particularly of the little man's relative to the purchase of a picture.

Knowing that a Bow Street officer had been sent to Wirksworth shortly after my apprehension, for the express purpose of obtaining information, it struck Mr. Harmer as somewhat extraordinary, that these people should not have been brought to London to look at me, and he asked whether they had before been questioned. They answered in the affirmative, and that the officer was told they

should know the men. He assured them the little man was safe enough in custody, and was well known to be the offender. They consequently were much surprised at not being called upon as witnesses.

The reason why they were not brought up may easily be guessed. *They gave too accurate a description of the offenders.* Hence therefore by stating the truth they would have proved that I was innocent; which would not accord with the views of the officer.

Mr. Harmer thought it advisable to subpoena Mr. Walker, and he very willingly consented to go on horseback next morning to Stafford. While the subpoena was filling up, Mr. Smedley came into the room, and, observing Walker's name, appeared much confused, saying it was useless to take him; he knew nothing of the business. On which Mr. Harmer observed, he might turn out to be a most material witness against Knight, and at all events both he and Woodhouse would have been important to establish my innocence. Smedley replied, the officer had seen them both, and did not think their evidence could be useful. That as to Woodhouse, he was a stupid old man and half an idiot. He certainly did not appear so either to Mr. Harmer or myself; and Walker and others who knew him gave him a very different character.

What possible motive could Mr. Smedley have for this conduct, unless a consciousness that Knight was the offender, and would be identified; whereby his own veracity or judgment might be questioned. - I cannot otherwise account for his

conduct. To the same reason I attribute the confusion he evinced, when confronted with Knight at Hatton Garden police office.

On our way to and from Wirksworth we went to the houses where the men stopped. We there asked for and procured the same post boys that drove them, who all concurred in asserting my innocence.

During our return, Smedley appeared extremely anxious to justify himself for the evidence he had given against me. He said, "you know I did not swear *you was the man*: I only said I believed it; and as you are certainly like him, no one can accuse me of acting wrong, in saying I believed you to be him." This, it will be remembered, was exactly the reasoning of the magistrates at Bow Street, which from his repeating it so accurately, had evidently produced the desired effect on his mind.

During our absence Mr. Kensington and several of his partisans had been very industrious in propagating reports injurious to me. They said, there appeared too much reason to fear, that Knight was a mere instrument in my hands; that I had caused him to be apprehended to give a colour to my defence; and that I was compelled to make some show of prosecuting him, to save appearances; but that if he were even guilty, I was equally so, and in that case, either could hang the other: that it was ridiculous to suppose me sincere in the prosecution; for at all events I must leave a loop-hole for Knight to creep out lest he should retaliate. And it was tauntingly asked, when was the *farce*, meaning the trial, to

commence. As the reader is now acquainted with nearly all the facts, I trust it is unnecessary for me to observe upon the injustice and illiberality of these remarks. If I wished to avoid proceeding to extremities, need I have paid the carriage and expenses of several of the witnesses, who would not otherwise have gone down? Should I have taken such pains to procure the attendance of Smedley, and have gone to Wirksworth expressly to bring him, after a subpoena had been actually served upon him, or should I have employed Mr. Harmer to conduct the prosecution? It would have been sufficient for my purpose, and to discharge my recognizances, that I appeared at Stafford singly and alone; instead of which I took care to have all the witnesses there, though it cost me upwards of a hundred pounds; and this sum I advanced under a perfect uncertainty, whether or not it would be reimbursed.

Had the indictment however proceeded to trial, neither Mr. Kensington nor his adherents would perhaps have much admired the expected *farcical representations*, or considered the scenes, which would have been exhibited, so very humorous and amusing, as they wished to insinuate. The gross mis-representation which had been so industriously and busily circulated would have been displayed; the conduct of my prosecutors in persevering against me, when they ought to have been satisfied of my innocence, would perhaps have appeared in its proper light, the means by which they endeavoured to advance their plot and bring on the intended *denouement* and catastrophe, would have been viewed as low intrigue or mere

stage trick, and before the curtain fell, they would doubtless have experienced the merited reprehension, the loud murmurs of disapprobation, of the audience and the public, for their manifest repugnance to prosecuting, or assisting in the prosecution of the real offender, and preferring to *persecute* one whom they must at least have *presently* suspected to be innocent. It was therefore natural for them now to use every exertion to prevent the trial of Knight, and became a part of their policy to assert that every thing done by me was a mere farce. Such appear to have been the interests, or at least the feelings of the parties, and there is too much reason to suspect, they were not very nice in the means of accomplishing their purpose. Knight certainly has to thank them for preventing, before the curtain rose, a performance, which, had they really wished for the amusement they pretended to expect, and not rather dreaded appearing themselves among the most ludicrous *personæ dramatis*, might have caused at least that hero of the piece to be condemned, terminated his last and too public strutting on the *stage*, and brought *his farce* to a most *tragical end*.

All the witnesses being now at Stafford, Mr. Harmer prepared to go before the grand jury with the bill of indictment. He had cogent reasons to prevent Mr. Kensington and Chamberlain from being examined in this stage of the investigation, lest the prosecution should be defeated. Having therefore obtained the bill of exchange from Mr. Kensington to avoid the necessity of mentioning him as a witness, he gave it to Collinson, the

clerk of the Southwell bank, who had inclosed it in the parcel, so that he might produce it before the grand jury. Chamberlain, however, coming in just as the indictment was passing, insisted on his name being inserted, and as he was bound over, the clerk could not refuse his request.

As I could not prove any important fact, it was doubted whether or not my name should be put on the back of the bill, but Mr. Harmer at length thought it advisable, the magistrate having bound me over, and to show a proper readiness on my part to submit to every interrogation.

The investigation before the grand jury occupied many hours, during the greater part of which Trott was in the room, who, when he came out, assured us the bill was found ; for the gentlemen observed, that the trial could not come on before Monday, in consequence of some trials of importance, which they knew were appointed for the next day, Saturday, and that Knight's trial would occupy the whole day.

After the evidence had been gone through, several of the jury went to the prison to see Knight. During their absence Mr. Kensington came to the door of the grand jury room, and in an agony of disappointment and chagrin, asked, how it happened that he had not been apprised when the indictment was to be preferred. Mr. Harmer answered, that his evidence could not be material or necessary : he had been merely bound over to produce the bill, and as Mr. Collinson had taken it before the grand jury, his attendance was not requisite.

Mr. Kensington then addressed some of the grand jury, as they were re-entering the room ; but

what passed I know not. He however remained near the door, while I and the witnesses returned to the inn.

In a few minutes we were told, that Mr. Kensington was gone in before the grand jury. "Then," exclaimed Mr. Harmer, "the bill is lost:" and immediately went to satisfy himself, whether the information was true. He found it to be correct: and the result was as he expected; *the bill was thrown out.*

Messrs. Harlow, Sims, and Walker, went into the prison at the same time with the grand jury to see Knight. He had all along continued his former line of conduct, and was now reduced to a mere skeleton. His face was of a sallow complexion, his head covered up, he seemed not to have power to move, and the difference in his appearance was so great, that no man who had been in his company once, and that at the distance of a twelvemonth, could possibly have spoken to him." Of this I cannot give a more striking instance than by mentioning an observation of Mrs. Elvidge at the last examination in Hatton Garden: namely, "that though he had lodged in her house many months, and she was in the habit of seeing and conversing with him daily, there was such an alteration in his person, that she scarcely knew him." The reader will not therefore be surprised to learn, that neither of these gentlemen could at that moment conscientiously speak to Knight's person; but they afterwards said, "there was something in the lineaments of his face, that struck them with a belief they had seen him before;" and one of them de-

clared, "that he felt great agitation the instant he saw his countenance, and, had he been previously told of the alteration in his appearance, he thought he should have identified him."

I cannot here omit contrasting the liberal manner in which this prosecution was conducted, with the shameful proceedings adopted throughout against me. I was *pointed out* to the witnesses, who were previously told, they might expect to see an alteration in my appearance; but that I was well known to be the man: and every method was used to excite an undue prejudice in the minds of the witnesses before they saw me. Not so in the prosecution of Knight. Mr. Harmer desired every one to abstain from mentioning, in the presence of those witnesses who were brought to see him, the circumstances that could be produced against him, or the artifices he had practised to prevent being known, lest it might bias their judgment; saying he wished them to speak from the spontaneous action of their own minds.

The bill of indictment being thrown out, Mr. Harmer and myself were under some apprehension that the court might refuse the expenses, which would not only have been a very serious loss to me, but have left us at that time in a very unpleasant dilemma: for I had expended all the money I brought with me, together with what cash Mr. Harmer had, and we must therefore have remained at Stafford till a supply from London could be procured. But some gentlemen of the county, being apprized by Mr. Harmer of my situation, very humanely interfered, and the judge,

learning that I was bound over in very heavy recognizances to prosecute; and had disbursed a large sum of money in the performance of the duty imposed upon me, ordered my expenses and those of the witnesses to be allowed.

As I had paid the whole expenses of some witnesses and a great portion of those of others, Mr. Harmer waited upon the proper officer to get the order for the allowance of the whole, intending to reimburse me what I had advanced for each individual, and give him or her the surplus due to them. This arrangement was agreed to by the parties : but to Mr. Harmer's great surprise, he found Mr. Kensington had told the gentleman, that the witnesses looked to him for their expenses, and therefore the order was to be made out to him and not to me. Mr. Kensington was sought for in order to an explanation; but it was discovered that he had quitted the town. I confess myself at a loss to account for Mr. Kensington's motive in making this unfounded assertion, unless he was aware of my situation, and felt pleasure in contemplating my embarrassment. For with what truth could he, who had refused to advance a shilling toward defraying the expenses of the prosecution or taking down the witnesses, say that he was looked to for payment? Will any one believe, that he would have paid the witnesses if the court had not made an allowance for the purpose? or that he would have reimbursed me a penny I had paid on their account? That gentleman did not support or provide for a single witness; my inn was their rendezvous; the bill, amounting to near thirty pounds, was paid by me; and therefore, if the

witnesses looked to any one, I rather think it was to me, and not to Mr. Kensington. With some difficulty I obtained the order for my own expenses, which enabled me to satisfy Messrs. Harlow, Sims, and Walker, and take myself with the London witnesses home. I should in candour acknowledge, that a month or two after, when the orders were granted for the other witnesses, I was reimbursed the money advanced by me on their account.

My enemies did not fail to take advantage of the result of Knight's prosecution, and urge it as a strong confirmation of their former assertions. "Did we not," said they, "foretel it would come to nothing? you see it has turned out as we expected. We well knew, Mackcoul dare not bring Knight to trial, and it was a contrivance of his to have the bill thrown out." Thus did they attribute to me that event which themselves had effected.

They have latterly exerted their ingenuity in fabricating other falsehoods; at one time asserting, that, immediately on Knight and myself being out of danger, I made no scruple in acknowledging the negotiation of the bills, and that Knight had been prevailed on to have the note found in his possession to clear me; at another, that Treble confessed the whole transaction, the stealing the parcel, the giving me part of the bills of exchange, and the rest to some other person; at another time, that Knight was innocent; that Trott, who has been for a long time unwell, had placed the Wirksworth note in his pocket book; also attributing Trott's illness to a judgment upon him for his villainy, and saying he has never thriven since.

It would insult the reader's understanding to deem these reports worthy an answer, I shall not, therefore, waste his time in refuting assertions, which must I think be obviously untrue. But I may be permitted to say, that my opponents invented a defence for Knight, which he never thought of. So far from denying the Wirksworth note, he acknowledged it to be his before the magistrate, giving at the time contradictory and inconsistent accounts of the manner he took it; besides he has frequently since claimed it as his own and demanded its return. The defence he intended to set up, in case of being hard pressed, was widely different, if general report deserves credit, viz. that his name was Warren, and consequently that no forgery was committed, as he had indorsed his own name. Indeed there is every reason to believe, he would have attempted this bold defence, from some expressions which fell from Jew Harris, who, after Dudfield was released, became Knight's attorney. This man ridiculed the idea of Knight being convicted, saying, "His name is Warren; your own witness, Hardiman, proves it. And how can he be found guilty of forgery for writing his own name?" But had Knight made this defence, it would have proved unavailing. He had many years ceased to be known by the name of Warren, and his using it again, as in this case solely for fraudulent purposes, would doubtless have been held forgery.

I have now concluded my narrative, and can solemnly and conscientiously declare, that I have not intentionally, any thing "extenuated," as to myself, or "set down aught in malice," against

my enemies. I commenced with a determination to state "the truth, and nothing but the truth," and feel conscious of having faithfully performed the task. I was desirous to acquaint the reader with the facts, leaving him to draw his own inference; and was anxious to pursue the detail with temper and moderation. If I have in any instance deviated from this line of conduct, by speaking with more than ordinary warmth of my oppressors, I beg the reader to consider the sufferings I have endured the eminent danger in which my life was placed, the very recollection of which makes me shudder, the loss of property sustained, the consequent privations I daily experience; and I trust, even the most fastidious will excuse every expression and epithet I have employed.

It was my intention, immediately after my acquittal at Stafford to publish this vindication; and I had proceeded some length in the manuscript; but, as a prosecution was pending against Knight, I considered it illiberal and unjust to excite a prejudice in the public mind by an *ex parte* statement.

After the termination of that prosecution I for some time hesitated whether or not to obtrude my humble case on public attention: till at length the falsehoods raised against me by my persecutors overcame my scruples.

I ought perhaps to thank them for extorting the present vindication, which may be the means of saving me from future peril. For Knight having been detained at Stafford for a large debt, contracted by a swindling transaction, and since obtained his discharge under the Insolvent Act, might with

his associate continue to commit similar offences ; and the Bow Street officers would be very happy in another opportunity of arresting me. The narrow escape however which Knight experienced, with a conviction that his person and connections are known and will be strictly watched, may, I hope, deter him and his coadjutors from future attempts ; for should they be again detected they must not reckon upon meeting with such another gentleman to befriend them as Mr. Kensington.*

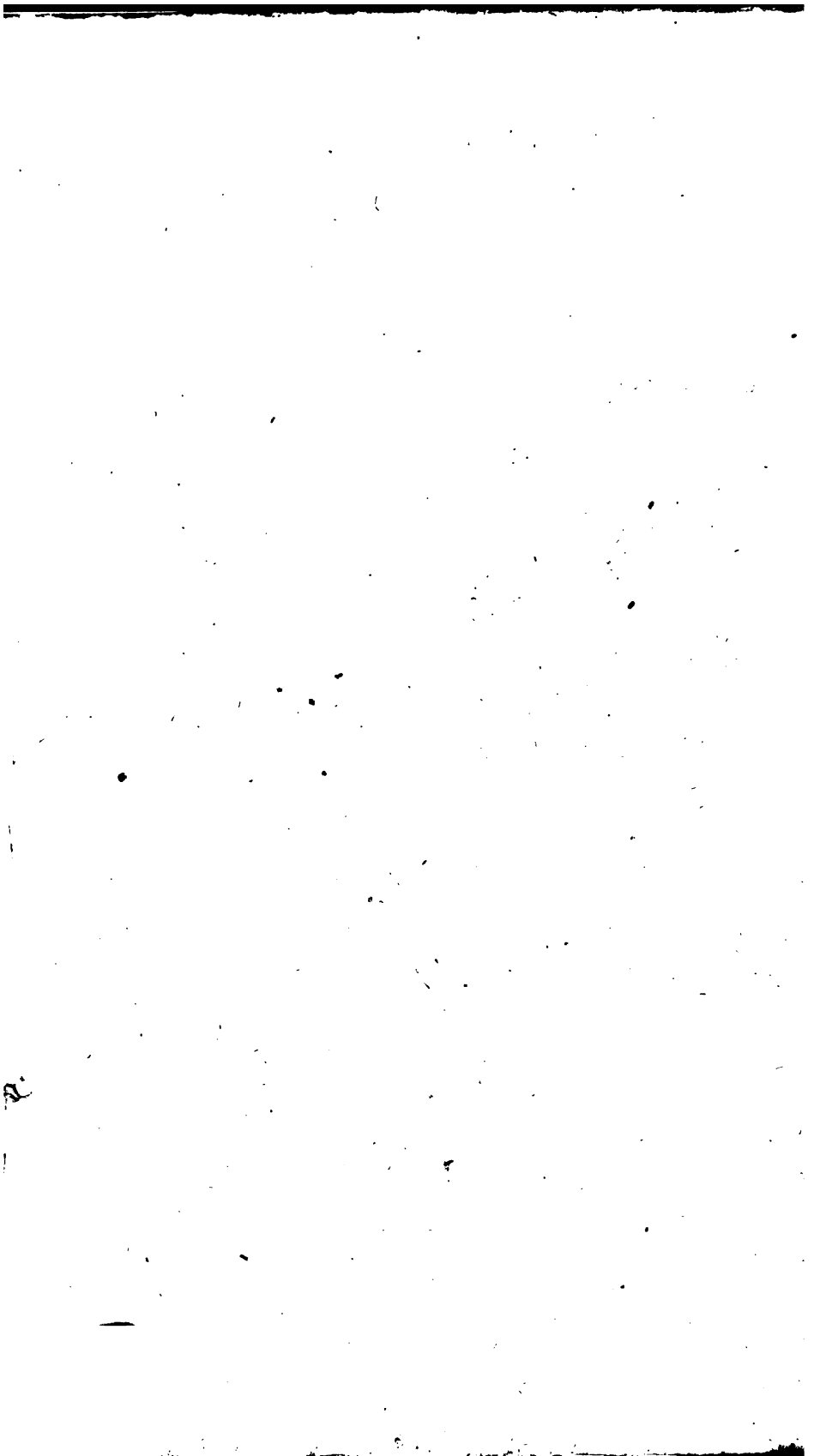
I cannot conclude without observing, that to every humane and benevolent mind it must be a melancholy reflection, that notwithstanding our

* I cannot help thinking that soon after my exposure of the *Dudfield Gang* by publishing the first edition of this narrative they laid a deep scheme for my destruction. Acting under the advice of my best friends I entered into business as a Stationer, Librarian and Music seller at Worthing, and they having possessed themselves of a parcel of notes stolen from a coach, Treble undertook to negotiate them ; previous to his setting off on this expedition all the parties were seen together, and in order to involve me the neighbourhood of my residence was selected. Treble passed two of the notes at Worthing, and then went on to Arundel where another was paid away ; but offering more of the same description the Banker's suspicion was excited, and he was advised to follow and question Treble. On searching the inn Treble was discovered to have materially altered his appearance by a different coloured wig ; as this confirmed the suspicions, he was therefore taken into custody, and on searching him a great variety of stolen and forged bills were found secreted in his cloaths, as also a variety of wigs in his saddle bags.

This unfortunate man was convicted of forgery and left to suffer death ; but shortly before the time appointed for his execution he put an end to his existence by hanging himself in his cell.

criminal laws are so highly extolled, it is possible for an innocent man to lose his life, unless he has a considerable sum of money to defend himself. For who can doubt, but that I must have suffered an ignominious death for an offence of which I was perfectly innocent, if I had been without the means of taking witnesses to Stafford? Indeed the prosecutions detailed in these sheets have reduced me to poverty; and in case of a fresh attack, I may still be without the means of defending myself, and thus ultimately fall a victim to the insatiable resentment of my enemies. But it is some consolation to hope, that by these sheets, the gross calumnies raised against me will be removed, and the public attention awakened to the practices of police officers; so that, should they again molest me, a scrutinizing eye will be directed to their proceedings, and I shall not be sacrificed with impunity.

THE END.



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